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ABSTRACT

The tenth volume in this series contains five articles dealing with various aspects of Serbo-Croatian-English contrastive analysis. They are: "The Infinitive as Subject in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Ljiljana Bibovic; "The Contrastive Analysis of Collocations: Collocational Ranges of "Make" and "Take" with Nouns and Their Serbo-Croatian Correspondents," by Vladimir Ivir and Vlasta Tanay; "Passive Sentences in English and Serbo-Croatian, Part II," and "Differences in the Surface Structure Realizations of Stative Locative Clauses in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Ljiljana Mihailovic; and "An Approach to the Definite Article," by Leonardo Spalatin. (CLK)

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THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT
Director: Professor Rudolf Filipović, Ph. D.

REPORTS
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THE INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

1. It is a well-known fact that verbs may occur in the subject position in English, the infinitive with to being one of the possible verbal forms[1], e.g.

To err is human.[2]

It is also possible for the infinitive to occur as subject in Serbo-Croatian, as for example in

Raditi je teško.[3]

1.2. This study is based chiefly on the examples (with their SC translations)[4] found in the Zagreb version of the Brown corpus, though occasionally examples from other sources have been used for illustration.[5]

2. This contrastive analysis of the English and SC infinitive has yielded several statements which reflect some of the systematic similarities and differences in their use.

2.1. Statement 1. To the English infinitive in the subject position often corresponds the SC infinitive in the same position.

If the English infinitive is linked with another infinitive or gerund by the verb TO BE, the corresponding linking verb following the SC infinitival subject is not the equivalent of the verb TO BE, BITI, but the verb ZNAČITI (=mean) in the tense required. Thus

40183 (1E) To act otherwise would be to admit his helplessness.
(1SC) Raditi drukčije značilo bi priznati svoju bespomoćnost.

8229 (2E) To be human, he believes, is to seek one's own destruction...
(2SC) Biti čovječan, vjeruje on, znači tražiti svoju vlastitu propast...

We can symbolize the latter pattern by the following simple formula:

	Subject	Predicate
E:	INF	BE + INF or GERUND
SC:	INF	ZNAČITI + INF

Note also an example that illustrates the English gerund in the predicate:

8768 (3E) To ask me to believe that so inexpressibly marvelous a book was written long after all events by some admiring follower, and was not inspired directly by the Spirit of God, is asking me to accept a miracle far greater than any of those recorded in the Bible.
(3SC) Tražiti od mene da vjerujem da je tako neopisivo divnu knjigu napisao mnogo kasnije neko od obožavalaca medju potomstvom i da ova nije bila neposredno inspirirana duhom božjim, značilo bi zahtevati da priznam čudo, daleko veće nego ma koje od onih koja su zabeležena u Bibliji.

2.1.1. In case in English the verb TO BE is followed by a noun, the corresponding linking verb in SC is BITI, PREDSTAVLJATI (=represent), ZNAČITI, as is the case in the following examples:

30104 (4E) To learn what we do is the first step for improvement.[6]
(4SC) Saznati šta činimo je prvi korak ka napretku.

22082 (5E) But to go from here to the belief that those more sensitive to metaphor and language will also be more sensitive to personal differences is too great an inferential leap.

(5SC) Ali, tvrditi na osnovu toga da će oni koji su osetljivi na metafore i jezik biti osetljivi i na individualne razlike predstavljalo bi isuviše smeo zaključak.

(6E) To accept just one linguistic model would be a disaster.

(6SC) Prihvatiti samo jedan jezički model značilo bi katastrofu.

On the other hand, if the verb TO BE is followed by an adjective, only the verb BITI is possible in SC. Thus:

20659 (7E) To believe otherwise would be unrealistic.

(7SC) Verovati nešto drugo bilo bi nerealno.

Pedagogical implications. In teaching English to SC learners it would be especially useful to turn their attention to the fact that ZNAČITI between two infinitives is always the linking verb TO BE in English. ZNAČITI in this linguistic context is a real difficulty for the learner.

2.2. In SC it is unnatural for a long subject to precede the enclitic form of BITI (=be) followed by a short subjunctive complement. This is the cause of the inversion of the subject in (8SC):

12773 (8E) But to continue to divorce advanced students from reality is inexcusable.

(8SC) Medjutim, neoprostivo je i dalje odvajati od stvarnosti studente viših godina.

Pedagogical implications. A native speaker of SC might be tempted to keep the same word order when translating an English sentence containing a long infinitival subject; therefore a learner of English should become familiar with the more general rule:

When a long infinitival subject is linked through the verb BE to a short subjective complement in E, invert the subject and the complement in the corresponding sentence in SC.

The following example shows that inversion does not occur when the enclitic form of BITI comes after the first word of the predicate, in which case the incongruity between the long subject and the enclitic is removed:

6611 (9E) To think that we can merely relinquish our economic autonomy without giving up our political or legal autonomy is wishful thinking.

(9SC) Smatrati da se mi možemo jedino odreći naše ekonomske autonomije a da ne odustanemo od naše političke ili zakonske autonomije samo je puka želja.

2.3. Most grammars of English contain the information that in spoken language the infinitive is rare in the subject position; one usually prefers a construction with anticipative *it*[7]. thus

(10) It is easy to give advice

is preferred to

(11) To give advice is easy.

In SC there is nothing corresponding to anticipative *it* and the SC equivalent to either (10) or (11) would be

(10/11SC) Lako je davati savete.[8]

This difference should not present any difficulty to SC learners of English.

2.4. Sometimes the infinitival subject in SC follows the predicate even if it is not long, as is the case in the following examples given by Maretić (1963:422):

lijepo je ovuda *ići* (it is nice to walk here)
teško je s njime *govoriti* (it is difficult to talk to him)

Stevanović's examples, however, each have the infinitival subject preceding the predicate, thus (Stevanović, 1969:29):

raditi je teško (to work is difficult)
čitati je zadovoljstvo (to read is a pleasure)
samovati je tužno (it is sad to live alone)

The difference between the two word orders may be explained by the different distribution of communicative dynamism (=CD)[9]. In, let us say,

(12SC) Samovati je tužno

both the infinitive as subject and the predicate carry the same degree of CD. But in

(13SC) Tužno je samovati

the infinitival subject, samovati, carries a lower degree of CD than the preposed predicate *tužno je*, the subject being the topic (theme), the predicate being the comment.[10] According to Firbas (1964:112)[11] it is the principle of FSP (functional sentence perspective) which determines the order of words in Czech; in languages which observe FSP the theme usually precedes the rheme. But in SC it seems to be the other way round in respect of the infinitival subject. Thus in the following context only (13SC) would be appropriate:

Svaki dan se vraća s posla u pustu sobu; soba, hladna i bez namještaja, još više pojačava osjećanje potpune izolovanosti. *Tužno je samovati*.

> (Every day he goes back from work to an empty room; the room, cold, and bare of furniture, intensifies his feeling of total isolation. It is sad to live alone.)

However, it is difficult to draw a definite conclusion on the evidence of this example alone, but it may well be the case that the thematic infinitival subject follows the rheme.

2.5. According to Stevanović (1969:29, 740) in SC an anaphoric TO (=that) is often used after an infinitive as subject, as in the following example:

> Biti izvrstan u svome poslu, to je cilj. (B. Popović, Ogledi i članci, 201)

This is especially the case if more than one infinitive is used as subject (Stevanović, 1969:29; Maretić, 1963:654). The use of the anaphoric pronoun has a rhetorical effect and it is hardly to be expected to be used in everyday speech. In English it is possible to use the corresponding pronoun as is seen from the two possible English equivalents of the following example from Maretić (1963:654):

> Ne primati ništa novo, nego se držati sve starine: to je zlo; ali primati svašta prije vremena i bez izbora: to je još gore.
>
> (a) To accept nothing new but cling to everything old is bad enough; but to accept everything too soon and without discrimination is even worse.
>
> (b) To accept nothing new but cling to everything old is bad enough; but to accept everything too soon and without discrimination, that is even worse.

2.6. Statement 2. To the English infinitive in the subject position can correspond an SC clause introduced by the complementizer da (=that). Thus:

37121 (14E) To be passive, to be girlishly shy was palpably absurd.
(14SC) Da ostane pasivna, da bude devojački bojažljiva očito je bilo besmisleno.

31078 (15E) To free the factors of production was a major objective of the rising bourgeoisie....
(15SC) Najvažniji cilj buržuazije u usponu bio je da oslobodi faktore proizvodnje...

The use of the infinitive is also possible in (15SC) (Najvažniji cilj buržoazije u usponu bio je oslobodíti faktore proizvodnje), though not in (14SC), at least not in my own speech.[12]

The question arises why the infinitive in English has two equivalents in SC, i.e. the infinitive and the da-clause? The answer seems to be that a da-clause is likely to occur when there is a specified subject in the embedded sentence which is in English reduced to the infinitive. In English the infinitive may occur with the subject even in surface structure, thus

(16E) For him to live alone is difficult.
(16SC) Teško mu je da živi sam.[13]

But:

(17E) To live alone is difficult.
(17SC) Živeti bez ikoga je teško.

The following illustrates the same phenomenon:

29776 (18E) As one of them expressed it, "It has done me a world of good to listen to the naive questions and comments of these not-yet-married people."
(18SC) Jedan je to ovako izrazio: "Za mene je bilo vrlo dobro da slušam naivna pitanja i komentare još neoženjenih ljudi."

In SC, it should be noted, one way to eliminate a specified subject in the embedded clause which is identical to some noun phrase in the matrix clause is to introduce an agentless se, especially in case the verb in the embedded clause is transitive. Thus (15SC) can also be rendered as

(15aSC) Najvažniji cilj buržoazije bio je da se oslobode faktori proizvodnje.

As the agentless se construction corresponds to the passive with the by-phrase deleted (the so-called short passive) we should expect the corresponding English embedded sentence to be in the passive, but this is not very usual and is often quite impossible. Compare the marginal grammaticality of

(15aE) ? The major objective of the rising bourgeoisie was that the factors of production should be freed.

In SC the se construction may be used even if the subject is unspecified,[14] e.g.

Teško je da se živi sam

along with

Teško je živeti sam.

Pedagogical implications. SC learners of English should be made aware of the fact that a da-clause is a possible equivalent of the English infinitival subject, especially when they translate from English into SC, though a translator with a "good feeling" for language would not fall into the trap of substituting the SC infinitive for the

E infinitive where a da-clause is appropriate. The English sentence pattern of the type represented in (16E) must be drilled with full attention, as its total absence in SC makes it difficult for a SC speaker to generate anything nearly like it without being previously taught to do so.

2.7. *Statement* 3. Sometimes the infinitive in English is rendered as a conditional clause in SC. Notice the following example:

32807 (19E) For the only time in the opera, words are not set according to their natural inflection; *to do so* would have spoiled the dramatic point of the scene.

(19SC) Jer taj jedini put u operi riječi nisu komponovane prema njihovoj prirodnoj modulaciji; *da je tako učinjeno* pokvarila bi se dramatska poenta scene.

The infinitive is, in fact, an abbreviated if-clause (*if it had been done so*) expressing what is usually referred to as 'unreal condition in past time'.

Pedagogical implications. Teaching materials should certainly contain the information about the possibility of having the infinitive in E instead of a conditional clause in SC; a native speaker of SC would tend to use a conditional clause in English rather than the infinitive. Thus a translator of (19SC) would be inclined to render *da je tako učinjeno* as *if it had been done so*.

2.8. *Statement* 4. Sometimes there is a correspondence between the English infinitive in the subject position and a clause of purpose in SC functioning as an adverbial modifier, as is the case in the following example:

883 (20E) *To accomplish this* would necessitate some changes in methods, he said.
(20SC) *Da bi se to postiglo*, potrebne su neke promjene u metodama, rekao je.

Pedagogical implications. It should be pointed out to SC learners of English that a clause of purpose functioning as an adverbial modifier in SC may correspond to the infinitive in the subject position in E. This rule is not very clear and it seems to depend on the presence of specific verbs such as *necessitate* (e.g. in (20E)) or *require*, as in the following example:

24318 (21E) And *to do this* requires first of all the kind of information about people which is provided by the scientists in industrial anthropology and consumer research...
(21SC) A *da bi se ovo učinilo* treba prvo posjedovati sve vrste podataka o ljudima koje pribavljaju naučnici koji se bave društvenom antropologijom i istraživanjem potrošača...

2.9. *Statement* 5. It is often the case that to the English infinitive in the subject position corresponds a SC derived (deverbal) noun in the same position. Notice the following examples:

30105 (22E) *To accept the validity of the judgements of others* is the second step.
(22SC) *Prihvatanje vrednosti suda drugih* predstavlja sledeći korak.

30106 (23E) *To want to change* is the third step.
(23SC) *Želja za menjanjem* je treći korak.

It is quite difficult to see under what conditions the English infinitive in subject position has a SC deverbal noun as its structural equivalent. At present I have no useful generalization to offer, for the factors involved here may not be only grammatical but also semantic, or at least lexical.

Pedagogical implications. At the present stage of research there is nothing very useful to suggest to the teacher of English as regards the above correlation between the infinitive in English and the deverbal noun in SC except to turn his attention to the fact that it exists and that it may be systematic. The teacher as well as the learner will be guided by their own intuitions as to where to use a SC deverbal noun in correspondence to an English infinitive and vice versa.

3. *Summary*. The investigation has shown that the following situations arise when the infinitival subject in English is contrasted with its SC equivalents:

1. English Infinitive - SC Infinitive
2. English Infinitive - SC da-clause
3. English Infinitive - SC conditional clause
4. English Infinitive - SC clause of purpose
5. English Infinitive - SC deverbal noun[15]

Finally, it should be added that the problem of the passive infinitives has been excluded from this investigation as it is tied up with the more general problem of the difference in the use of the voice category in the two languages. Just to make this point clearer here is one example which shows that the passive is less favoured in SC than in English:

(24E) *To be treated as an intellectual equal* was the greatest praise that could be given to you. (*The Listener*, 14. February 1974, p.211)

(24SC) Da postupaju sa vama kao sa intelektualno sebi ravnim značilo je najveću pohvalu koja vam je mogla biti upućena.

The second part of the sentence does contain an infinitive in the passive (biti upućena), but, as I have hinted above, the use of the passive presents a special problem.

As the material investigated did not provide any examples with the perfect infinitive in English which could have been contrasted with their SC equivalents in any useful way, it has also remained outside the scope of the present investigation. It is sufficient to point out for the present purpose that SC has no such thing as the perfect infinitive and that other means are employed to indicate the past, as is the case in the SC translation of the following example quoted by Jespersen:[16]

'Tis better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all

Bolje je da ste voleli i izgubili
Nego da nikada niste voleli

where to have loved is rendered by a da-clause with the finite verb in the past in the second person plural (honorific). The latter is often used as an impersonal pronoun.

The following example is more complicated and 'real world' knowledge is necessary:

(25E) To have lived fully and successfully in a man's world and then live as a woman is a rare advantage. (The Listener, 25. April 1974, p. 135)

Both the perfect infinitive and the simple infinitive will be rendered as simple infinitives in SC, as it is clear to anyone who has read the article the example comes from that the sentence refers in general terms to a person who has changed his sex. (25E) runs in SC as follows:

(25SC) Živeti punim životom i imati uspeha u svetu muškarca a zatim živeti kao žena retko je preimućstvo.

But in case we have an English sentence such as

(26E) To have lived in appalling conditions all one's life and then achieve fame posthumously is the fate of many great people

the corresponding SC sentence will contain the perfective aspect of the verb živeti, i.e. proživeti:

(26SC) Proživeti svoj život u krajnje teškim uslovima a zatim doživeti slavu posle smrti sudbina je mnogih velikih ljudi

though the imperfective aspect of the same verb is not impossible in this context provided a slight adaptation is made i.e.

(26aSC) Živeti u krajnje teškim uslovima celog života a zatim doživeti slavu posle smrti sudbina je mnogih velikih ljudi.

Notice the obligatory use of the perfective aspect of the verb in (27SC):

(27E) To have written so much and to have said nothing about Balthazar is indeed an omission... (Lawrence Durrell, Justine, Faber and Faber 1963, p. 81)

(27SC) Napisati ovoliko a ne reći ništa o Baltazaru zaista je propust...

One elucidation seems to be required, however. *Proživeti*, *napisati* etc. are perfect infinitives in SC only in the sense that they contain the prefix which marks them for aspect, i.e. *pro*-, *na*-, etc. As this prefix occurs in other forms of the verb (e.g. *proživim*, *proživeo* (sam), *proživeću*) I would not feel justified in considering the infinitive forms *proživeti*, *napisati* and the like as perfect infinitives - at least not in the same sense as the English perfect infinitive which enters various constructions. E.g.:

> *He ought to have believed her*
> *He is said to have written fifteen novels*.

Further research will undoubtedly reveal more interesting things about the SC structural equivalents of the English perfect infinitive occuring as subject of the sentence.[17]

N O T E S

1. Cf. also: Ljiljana Bibović, "The English Gerund as a Subject and its Serbo-croatian Structural Equivalents". In R,Filipović, ed., *The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project*, *Reports 7*, Zagreb 1973, pp. 3-21.
2. Cf. Christophersen and Sandved, 1969:118 or Jespersen, 1954:163. See also Zandvoort, 1960:13 and Kaušanskaja, 1959:190.
3. Stevanović, 1969:29.
4. The examples have been translated by the anonymous translators working for the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project.

5. All the examples marked with a corpus sentence number have been taken from the Zagreb version of the Brown corpus. On the detailed description of the corpus see Rudolf Filipović, "The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project So Far", Zagreb Conference on English Contrastive Projects, 7-9 Dec. 1970, Zagreb 1971, 37-43 and Rudolf Filipović, "The Choice of the Corpus for the Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, Studies 1, Zagreb 1969, 37-46.

6. I find it more useful to underline the whole noun phrase rather than the head noun alone.

7. Both in English and SC the use of the infinitive as subject is common in proverbs, thus in English (with anticipative it): It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive, It is better to wear out than to rust out, It is easy to be wise after the event or in SC, Bolje je pokliznuti nogom nego jezikom, Bolje je umeti nego imati.

8. Notice that according to what was said in 2.2. the subject follows the predicate.

9. By the degree of CD carried by a linguistic element is meant the extent to which the element contributes to the development of communication, to which, as it were, it 'pushes the communication forward' (Firbas, 1971:92).

10. According to the Brno Anglicists the topic is defined as constituted by an element (elements) carrying the lowest degree of CD within a sentence (Firbas, 1971:92).

11. See also Ljiljana Bibović, "On the Word Order of Subject and Predicate in English and Serbo-Croatian from the Point of View of Functional Sentence Perspective", in R. Filipović, ed. YSCECP, Reports 5, Zagreb 1971, 1-10.

12. In cases like those illustrated by (14SC) the western variant favours the infinitive.

13. In cases like those illustrated by (16SC) the western variant favours the infinitive. The eastern variant favours the da-clause in cases like (16SC).

14. Cf. Perlmutter, 1969:178.

15. SC infinitive often corresponds to the English gerund. Cf. Bibović, "The English Gerund as a Subject and Its Serbo-Croatian Structure Equivalents", in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, *Reports* 7, Zagreb 1973, 3-21.

16. Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, Allen and Unwin, London 1924:285.

17. I am grateful to Wayles Browne, the Zagreb members of YSCECP and Draginja Pervaz for reading the first version of this paper and offering their suggestions and advice. All inconsistencies and errors are, of course, my own.

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THE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF COLLOCATIONS: COLLOCATIONAL RANGES OF *MAKE* AND *TAKE* WITH NOUNS AND THEIR SERBO-CROATIAN CORRESPONDENTS

0. It can be shown that collocational analysis forms a necessary part of contrastive analysis at the lexical level. Evidence in support of this claim comes from pairs of lexical items in two different languages which agree fully in terms of semantic features or components while at the same time differing considerably in terms of collocational ranges. This can be illustrated by taking phonologically/graphologically similar lexical items in English and Serbo-Croatian which also agree semantically, so that no dictionary definition can indicate a difference between them. Thus, *chemical* and *kemijski* agree semantically but disagree in collocations like *kemijsko čišćenje* vs. **chemical cleaning* (for ‘dry cleaning’) and *kemijska olovka* vs. **chemical pencil* (for ‘ballpoint pen’); *stylistics* and *stilski* also agree, but not in the collocation *stilsko pokućstvo* vs. **stylistic furniture* (for ‘period furniture’). Similarly, phonologically/graphologically dissimilar pairs may agree semantically yet disagree collocationally: in the semantic range in which *kitchen* and *kuhinja* are equivalent, they still differ so that *kuhinjska sol* is not **kitchen salt* but *table salt*; in so far as *give* and *make* are equivalent, *dati prijedlog* is not matched by **give a suggestion* but rather by *make a suggestion*.

In the absence of semantic discriminations and exhaustive collocational lists, it is quite obvious that the learner or translator will tend to make mistakes in all those cases in which the collocational potentials of his L_1 lexical items differ from the collocational potentials of semantically correspondent L_2 lexical items.

1. Collocation can be defined as the placing of lexical items into syntagmatic relations in such a way that one lexical item in some way determines the meaning of another item with which it collocates. Representatives of the London school follow Firth in regarding collocation as a determinant of meaning: "Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark*, and of *dark*, of course, collocation with *night*." (Firth 1957: 196). "Collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word in collocational order but not in any other contextual order and emphatically not in any grammatical order. The collocation of a word or a 'piece' is not to be regarded as mere juxtaposition, it is an order of mutual expectancy." (Firth 1968: 181). McIntosh (1961), Halliday (1966) and Sinclair (1966) stress the lexical, as against grammatical, nature of collocational relationships (showing that 'ranges' are the lexical counterparts of structural 'patterns' in grammar), while Mitchell (1971) takes a broader view and notes that collocation is to be seen in both lexical and grammatical terms. Everything that goes with the given root, he says, is its collocation, but some collocations are so numerous that they can be generalized in grammatical terms (e.g. a class of 'occupational' nouns and 'employment-terminating' verbs); still others are expressed at the lexical level of collocable items. The analyst decides as to where he wishes to

locate his abstractions.

The term 'collocation' has also been used by M. Joos and defined as a "word combination which throws light on the meanings of the words involved" (Joos 1958: 62). He shows how a 'collocation test' can be applied in microsemantic research to establish the semological structure of an item. The key concept here is that of elimination of meanings, which is achieved by the collocate "being at home with part but not all the meanings" of the item with which it collocates (Joos 1958: 64), and collocation is simply "cooccurrence of morphemes which eliminate meanings (other than surviving)" (Joos 1958: 55). He illustrates this with the noun *code*, whose different meanings are discriminated by means of collocations: *safety code*, *penal code*, *code of honor*, *moral code*, *teenager code*, etc.

It is seen that Joos's interpretation of collocation is at once more specific and more narrow than the Firthian interpretation. It is more specific because it states explicitly that collocation is only that cooccurrence of morphemes which results in the elimination of meanings; it is more narrow because not every cooccurrence is a collocation. While Firth claimed that one of the meanings of *night* was its collocability with *dark*, Joos would see no change in the meaning of *night* in *dark night*, *starry night*, *long night*, *warm night*, *summer night*, *sleepless night*, *Arabian nights*, etc.; he would, however, note the difference in *opening night* and *night of the Middle Ages*. Similarly, the meanings of *dark* would be discriminated in collocations like *dark night*, *dark eyes*, *Dark Ages*, *dark thoughts*, *dark saying*, but not in *dark night*, *dark tunnel*, *dark city* (e.g. during a power failure).

These examples, though not Joos's own, agree with his understanding of collocation. They also agree with the intuitions of native speakers - notably dictionary makers, who define *night* as (1) time from dusk to dawn marked by absence of light, (2) an evening, (3) condition or period (of dreary inactivity or affliction) felt to resemble the darkness of night. The problem is, however, how such intuitive hunches can be made objective and formalizable. Or, supposing we manage to establish the collocational range of a given item, the question remains how we can introduce some order into the conglomerate of collocates, so that what we get is more than just an alphabetical list.

2. In trying to answer this question, there are two assumptions that we must make. The first is that not all the meanings of a given lexical item are equally central to that item. The second assumption is that meaning is not exhaustively accounted for by a formal analysis of formal items, but rather that it must be viewed in the context of situation in which language is used.

The centrality of certain meanings, or the existence of some kind of semantic prototype in a given lexical item, is intuitively recognized: taking *night* in isolation, in the absence of any collocational support, we interpret it as 'time from dusk to dawn', not as 'evening' or 'period of dreary inactivity', and it would be unusual, to say the least, for a dictionary maker to order his definitions of *night* in such a way that anything but 'time from dusk to dawn' should come to occupy the first position in a synchronic description of English lexis. It is this central core of the meaning of *night* which provides a standard against which elimination by collocation can be measured. Nothing happens to that meaning with the adjectives in the first group (*dark*, *starry*, *long*, *warm*, *summer*, *sleepless*, *Arabian*), but when it comes to the adjective *opening* (in *opening night*), the semantic make-up of *night* changes and the differential meaning ('early part of the night and not the whole night') combines with the meaning 'performance of a work of art' to give a new meaning. Similarly, the modifying group *of the Middle Ages* does not eliminate all the meanings of *night* except one, but rather makes possible the metaphoric variation of the central meaning of that noun. This seems to be a more satisfactory account than the one which would start from the totality of the meanings of *night*, eliminating some by collocation, so that the surviving meanings could perform their role in communication. This proposal simplifies the semantic description of lexical items and is particularly well suited for purposes of contrastive analysis. (No claim is being made about its validity as a true representation of the linguistic behaviour of native speakers or learners of English, though it seems very likely that this variation-on-a-theme approach is closer to what actually happens than the 'extractive approach', which presupposes the existence of a set of meanings given in advance.)

The second assumption made here, namely, that the meaning of a lexical item is not uniquely determined by its formal analysis but also by the context of situation in which it is used, goes hand in hand with the first assumption and enables us to determine which cooccurrences of lexical items are collocations and which are not. If all combinations of lexical items are collocations, then collocation is a statistical concept and its only definition will be in terms of frequency. But if we accept the semantic-prototype view of lexis and its relationship with the context of situation, we can distinguish collocations from free combinations on the one hand and from idioms on the other. Thus, when *dark* combines with *night*, it remains unaffected in its basic meaning (and so does *night*); in *dark horse*, it is changed so that darkness consists not in the absence of light but in the presence of a colour which approaches the colour characteristic of the absence of light (when *dark horse* is used in a context of situation involving a horse of a dark colour) or in the lack of prominence as a likely *winner* (when *dark horse* is used in a context of situation involving a horse of any colour which possesses unexpected or unknown capabilities). In both of these situations, *horse* remains unchanged in meaning, but when *dark horse* is used with reference to a person whose capabilities may be greater than they appear to be, the whole combination becomes an idiom based on a metaphor (like *kick the bucket*).

3. We now have three groups of combinations in which *dark* is used: first, one in which it retains its basic meaning; second, one in which its basic meaning serves to derive its meaning in collocation; and third, one in which its basic meaning does not participate directly but through a metaphor. Only the second group would represent collocations which "throw light" on the meaning of *dark*. This group is made up of several subgroups of collocations, each producing a different meaning of *dark*: (a)*dark colour/complexion/skin/eyes/hair/horse/sky/cloud*; (b) *dark mood/countenance/thoughts/prospects*; (c) *dark powers/deeds*; (d) *Dark Ages*; (e) *dark horse*; (f) *keep one's plans dark*; (g) *dark vowel*. In all of these collocations the meanings of the head nouns remain unaffected. The first group of the three mentioned at the beginning of this section consists of pairs of semantically compatible lexical items, combined in such a way that neither element undergoes a change of its basic meaning under the influence of the other element: *dark night/room/celar/ tunnel/cave*, etc. Any object whose nature is such that it can be dark can also appear in a combination with this adjective.

4. The view of collocation developed here is insufficient to take care of all those instances of lexical co-occurrence which one would like to regard as collocations

(and which are normally regarded as such). In particular, it would not cover such cases (given by Mitchell 1971) as the use of verbs like *achieve, accomplish, effect, execute, implement, realize* with nouns like *plan, project, proposal, ambition, object, objective*. First, some of these verbs do not appreciably modify their meanings: while it may be shown that *execute* is not the same in *execute a plan* and *execute a sonata, execute a murderer, execute a legal document*, it is much more difficult to show that *implement* can change its meaning since all nouns that it accepts belong to the group represented here (e.g. *implement a proposal/scheme/programme/plans*). Second, and more importantly, the nouns given here select the verbs from this group with synonymical discriminations which are very fine and difficult to account for: plans are accomplished, executed, implemented, and realized; ambitions are achieved and realized; proposals are effected, implemented, and realized, etc. An explanation for this phenomenon must be sought outside the concept of collocation as developed here. It can be found in the notion of collocation at a deeper semantic (i.e., pre-lexical) level. At that level, the nouns in this group all combine with a semantic prototype meaning roughly 'carry into effect', and the different lexical realizations of that prototype, in collocation with the nouns in question, are all semantically changed, just as *dark* was changed above in different collocational setups. The only difference between these collocations and those involving *dark* is that in this case we are dealing with different lexical items rather than a single item entering into different collocations.

5. Collocations of both kinds are contrastively significant since, first, different languages choose to focus upon different aspects of reality (collocations thus being language-specific) and since, second, different languages organize their lexical material differently in relation to

the same semantic content. Both situations can be illustrated with examples from English and Serbo-Croatian. An extreme example of the former type is *department store* and *robna kuća* ('goods house'), in which both elements are focused differently; more usually only one element is differently focused, as in *feature film* and *umjetnički film* ('artistic film'), *dress rehearsal* and *generalni pokus* ('general rehearsal'), *natural gas* and *zemni plin* ('earth gas'), *tentative title* and *radni naslov* ('working title'), *big/small game* and *visoka/niska divljač* ('high/low game'). In such cases, L_1 interference (assuming that Serbo-Croatian is the learner's L_1) would lead to gloss forms given in brackets instead of the collocations required by L_2. An example of the second type is provided by the collocations of the adjective *dark* and their Serbo-Croatian correspondents: *dark mood - mračno (*tamno) raspoloženje* as against *dark hair - tamna (*mračna) kosa*. (Such an organization of the lexical material in Serbo-Croatian should be seen against the background of *dark night - tamna/mračna noć*.) The meanings of the English verbs *discover, uncover, unveil, reveal, disclose* can all be regarded as collocationally relized derivations from a basic meaning, which is 'to make visible or known something that has been hiden or unknown'. Serbo-Croatian, in fact, has one lexical item, *otkriti*, to correspond to these English verbs: *discover a continent - otkriti kontinent, uncover the plot - otkriti zavjeru, unveil a monument - otkriti spomenik, reveal a secret - otkriti tajnu, disclose one's identity - otkriti svoj identitet*. The lack of lexical differentiation does not mean a consequent lack of semantic differentiation: collocations serve to modify the basic meaning of the verb, just as they did in the case of the English adjective *dark* above. Interference takes place when the learner's L_1 fails to make lexical differentiations which L_2 makes. It consists in the learner either failing to observe the difference and using one correspondent (say, *discover*) indiscirminately in all collocational setups or having considerable difficulties with these differentiations in L_2.

A different kind of interference takes place with collocations involving verbs like *make* and *take*. Such verbs collocate with a very wide range of nouns as their grammatical objects and have their meanings modified in various ways (as the analysis which follows will try to show), but their Serbo-Croatian correspondents are much less free in accepting collocates and are replaced in such collocations by more specific verbs: *take a sip - srknuti gutljaj* ('sip/drink a sip'), *take the form - poprimiti oblik* ('assume the form'), *take a taxi - odvesti se taksijem* ('drive in a taxi'), *take an elevator - popeti se liftom* ('climb in an elevator'), *take a course - pohadjati tečaj* ('attend a course'), *take a course - slušati kolegij* ('listen to a course'), *take a pause - napraviti pauzu* ('make a pause'), *take the opportunity - iskoristiti priliku* ('use/exploit the opportunity'); *make a movie - snimiti film* ('shoot a movie'), *make a sign - dati znak* ('give a sign'), *make a contribution - dati doprinos* ('give a contribution'), *make peace - sklopiti/zaključiti mir* ('conclude peace'), *make war - voditi rat* ('lead/wage war'), *make money - zaraditi novac* ('earn money'), *make a decision - donijeti odluku* ('bring a decision'), *make sense - imati smisla* ('have sense'), etc. A Serbo-Croatian learner of English would tend to produce the glosses given in brackets here rather than the collocations with *take* and *make*. It should be noted that his literal translations of the Serbo-Croatian expressions would not necessarily result in ungrammatical expressions in English, but they would prevent him from reaching the degree of naturalness and idiomaticity that characterizes the native's use of that language. It is worth noting, for instance, that the incidence of such all-purpose words in the speech of foreigners is much smaller than in the speech of native speakers.

6. The analysis which follows, based on Tanay (1974), attempts to show the collocational ranges of *make* and *take* with nouns and their Serbo-Croatian correspondents.

6.1. In collocation with nouns as objects, the verb *make* has the following meanings:

6.1.1. Produce

A. Physical objects

(a) manufactured by hand and/or machine

make bricks	- *praviti opeke*
make lampshades	- *praviti zaslone*
make a slingshot	- *praviti praćku*
make curtains	- *izradjivati zastore*
make clothes	- *izradjivati odjeću*
make chaines	- *izradjivati lančiće*
make furniture	- *izradjivati namještaj*
make shoes	- *izradjivati cipele*
make an installation	- *izvesti instalaciju*
make gadgets	- *proizvoditi naprave*
make vehicles	- *proizvoditi vozila*
make generators	- *proizvoditi generatore*

(b) constructed

make streets	- *graditi ceste*
make bridges	- *graditi mostove*
make walls	- *graditi bedeme*

(c) prepared from ingredients (food)

make meals	- *priredjivati obroke*
make breakfast	- *pripremiti doručak*
make dinners	- *pripravljati večeru*
make chicken	- *pripremiti pile*
make veal kidneys	- *pripremiti teleće bubrege*
make steaks	- *ispeći odreske*

make a dessert - praviti kolač
make tea/coffee - skuhati čaj/kavu
make Vodka Blushes - napraviti koktel Vodka Blush
make a drink - načiniti napitak

(d) artificial reproduction

make a movie - snimiti film
make a documentary - snimiti dokumentarni film
make TV commercials - snimiti TV reklame
make a recording - načiniti snimku
make a record - snimiti ploču

B. Non-objects

(a) movements

make a sign - dati znak
make a signal - dati signal
make a gesture - napraviti gestu
make a grinding motion - praviti kružne pokrete
make a fist - stisnuti šaku
make a cross - prekrižiti se
make a demonstration - napraviti gestu protesta
make a circuit - kružiti
make a turn - zaokrenuti
make a detour - zaobilaziti
make a tour - obilaziti
make one's rounds - obilaziti
make a stop - navratiti na jedno mjesto
make a push - probiti se
make an assault - nasrnuti
make a transition - prelaziti

make a move	- *pomaknuti se*
make a circle	- *napraviti krug*
make a leap	- *skočiti*
make a slash	- *prerezati*
make a march	- *izvršiti marš*
make an entrance	- *ulaziti*
make stopovers	- *zaustavljati se*
make a shot	- *zadati udarac*
make room	- *napraviti mjesta*
make haste	- *žuriti se*
make a journey/trip	- *putovati*
make an escape	- *pobjeći*
make speed	- *požuriti se*
make an appearance	- *pojaviti se*
make a face/grimace	- *učiniti grimasu*
make faces	- *kreveljiti se*
(b) **sound**	
make a remark	- *dati primjedbu*
make excuses	- *ispričavati se*
make an announcement	- *dati obavijest*
make an objection	- *primijetiti/izreći primjedbu*
make an observation	- *dati primjedbu*
make a statement	- *dati izjavu*
make a speech	- *održati govor*
make a point	- *izložiti svoje mišljenje*
make a defence	- *braniti se*
make a complaint	- *tužiti se/ža*[illegible] *se*
make a vow	- *položiti zavjet*

make a wish	- *izraziti želju/poželjeti*
make a prophecy	- *predskazivati*
make a grouse	- *prigovarati*
make a call	- *telefonirati/nazvati*
make conversation	- *razgovarati*
make small talk	- *brbljati o koječemu*
make jokes	- *pričati viceve*
make pleasantries	- *uveseljavati*
make a sound	- *proizvesti/stvoriti zvuk*
make a noise	- *stvarati buku*
make a laugh	- *nasmijati se*
make clicks	- *zvecnuti*
make a bang	- *zatutnjati*
make a creak	- *zacviliti*
make a growl	- *zarežati*
make monkey chatter	- *puštati majmunske glasove*
make a clatter	- *lupati*

(c) light/heat

make fire	- *zapaliti vatru*
make light	- *proizvesti svjetlo*
make a blaze	- *potaknuti plamen*
make a shadow	- *bacati sjenu*

(d) smell

make a(n) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{unpleasant}\\ \textit{bad}\\ \textit{terrible}\end{array}\right\}$ *smell/odour*	- *vonjati*

(e) situation or state

make an impression	- *učiniti dojam/stvoriti utisak*
make a mark	- *ostaviti dojam*

make a sensation	*- izazvati osjećaj*
make a contrast	*- stajati u kontrastu/ biti suprotan*
make problems	*- stvarati probleme*
make a confusion	*- stvarati zbrku*
make a mess	*- napraviti nered*
make a scene	*- napraviti scenu*
make trouble	*- stvarati teškoće/ uznemiravati*
make a scandal	*- izazvati skandal*
make difficulties	*- praviti teškoće*
make peace	*- sklopiti/zaključiti mir*
make war	*- voditi rat*
make love	*- voditi ljubav/obljubiti*
make a pact	*- sklopiti sporazum*
make an agreement	*- sklopiti sporazum/ dogovoriti se*
make a deal	*- nagoditi se/pogoditi se*
make a sale	*- zaključivati poslove*
make a bet	*- okladiti se*
make an appointment	*- zakazati sastanak*
make a date	*- zakazati sastanak*
make a condition	*- postaviti kao uvjet*
make a mistake	*- načiniti pogrešku*
make an error	*- pogriješiti*
make a blunder	*- pogriješiti*
make friends	*- sklapati prijateljstva*
make enemies	*- stvarati sebi neprijatelje*
make sacrifices	*- žrtvovati se*
make adaptations	*- prilagoditi se*
make use	*- okoristiti se*

make an attempt	*- pokušati/učiniti pokušaj*
make an effort	*- potruditi se*
make demands	*- postavljati zahtjeve*
make allowances	*- gledati kroz prste*
make a concession	*- popustiti*
make amends	*- ispraviti*
make a move	*- načiniti potez*
make a reputation	*- postati ugledan*
make sense	*- imati smisla*
make a difference	*- biti različit*
make no meaning (out of something)	*- ne snalaziti se (u nečemu)*

(f) intellectual creation

make history	*- stvarati historiju*
make a new world	*- stvarati novi svijet*
make words	*- stvarati riječi*
make a discovery	*- doći do otkrića*
make phrases	*- izmišljati fraze*
make a life	*- praviti život*
make plans	*- planirati*
make a decision	*- donijeti odluku/ odlučiti*
make a resolve/ resolution	*- donijeti odluku*
make a choice	*- odabrati*
make distinctions	*- razlikovati*
make generalizations	*- upuštati se u uopćavanja*
make identifications	*- identificirati*
make a selection	*- izvršiti izbor/ odabrati*

make a study	*- istraživati*

(g) material value

make money	*- zaraditi novaca*
make a million	*- priskrbiti milijun dolara*
make profits	*- izvlačiti profite*
make a fortune	*- obogatiti se*
make a living	*- zaradjivati*
make deposits	*- ulagati novac*
make withdrawals	*- podizati novac*
make a killing (on the market)	*- ostvariti veliki profit*

(h) written record

make a record	*- sastaviti izvještaj*
make a report	*- sastaviti izvještaj*
make a collection	*- sastaviti zbirku*
make figures	*- zapisivati brojke*
make notes	*- bilježiti*
make entries	*- unositi bilješke*

(i) image or impression

make a fool (of oneself)	*- ispasti budala*
make a bore (of oneself)	*- dosadjivati*
make a target (of oneself)	*- postati metom*
make a fool (of someone)	*- napraviti budalu (od koga)*
make fun	*- rugati se*
make an object lesson	*- poslužiti kao primjer*

6.1.2. Transform

make (someone) a star	*- stvoriti (od koga) zvijezdu*

make (someone) head	*- imenovati šefom*
make (someone) a hero	*- proglasiti herojem*

make a(n) ADJ

corporal	*- postati ADJ kaplar*
atheist	*- postati ADJ bezvjerac*
lawyer	*- biti ADJ pravnik*
back	*- biti ADJ bek*
champion	*- postati ADJ prvak/šampion*
novelist	*- biti ADJ romanopisac*
father	*- biti ADJ otac*

6.1.3. Miscellaneous

A. Form

(a) group of people or things

make a union	*- osnovati savez*
make a league	*- osnovati ligu*
make an association	*- osnovati udruženje*
make alliances	*- udruživati se u saveze*
make a pair	*- biti/činiti par*
make a line	*- oblikovati niz*
make elite corps	*- stvoriti elitne korpuse*

(b) amount or quantity

make a pound	*- činiti/iznositi funtu*

B. Succeed

make the summit	*- stići do vrha*
make the best-seller list	*- dospjeti na listu bestselera*
make the team	*- uspjeti doći u reprezentaciju*
make a woman	*- uspjeti zavesti*

make the bus - *uhvatiti autobus*

C. Score

make a century - *postići sto bodova*

D. Travel

make 80 miles - *prevaliti 80 milja*

E. Reckon

make the distance 70 km. - *računati da udaljenost iznosi 70 km.*

Comments:

Re. 6.1.1.: ‘Produce’ or ‘cause to come to existance’ is the central meaning of *make*, against which its other meanings are understood. In group A the collocationally induced modification of the basic meaning is brought about by the type of object involved, which determines the way in which the bringing into existance is achieved. The Serbo-Croatian equivalents include one, *(na)praviti*, which is just as general as *make* and which therefore fits in all the subgroups of A. But all the other equivalents actually found in the translated corpus are more specific and hardly interchangeable: for *make shoes* we find *izradjivati cipele*, but for *make bridges* - *graditi* (**izradjivati*) *mostove*, and for *make meals* - *priredjivati* (**izradjivati*, **graditi*) *obroke*; *make steaks* - *ispeći* (**izradjivati*, **graditi*, *?priredjivati*) *odreske*; *make tea* - *skuhati* (**izradjivati*, **graditi*, **ispeći*, *?prirediti*) *čaj*; *make a movie* - *snimiti* (**izradjivati*, **graditi*, **prirediti*, **ispeći*) *film*. Starting from these specific equivalents in his mother tongue, the Serbo-Croatian learner or translator will easily reach their English counterparts (*manufacture*, *build*, *prepare*, *grill*, *cook*) and produce acceptable combinations (except, perhaps, **cook tea*), but he will miss the natural English expressions with *make*.

In group B, the meaning of *make* is still ‘cause to come into existance', but what is brought into existence are not physical objects but non-objects (or phenomena). The modification of the meaning of *make* in collocations of this type is sometimes such that it only ensures the verbal, as against the nominal, function of the noun in question and the whole collocational group can be substituted by a verb derivationally related to the noun: *make an answer - odgovoriti* ('to answer'), *make a prayer - moliti se* ('to pray'), *make a growl - zarežati* ('to growl'), *make a resolve - odlučiti* ('to resolve'), *make a choice - odabrati* ('to choose'), *make a wish - poželjeti* ('to wish'), *make a change* - promijeniti ('to change'), etc. The learner who follows his native Serbo-Croatian pattern will not make mistakes in English but he will miss the natural collocations with *make*. In other cases, however, Serbo-Croatian has its own collocational groupings which are different from those in English and which, when translated literally, produce ungrammatical results in English: for *make a decision*, Serbo-Croatian has *donijeti odluku* ('bring a decision'); the counterpart of *make a mistake* is *načiniti pogrešku* ('do a mistake'), that of *make sense - imati smisla* ('have sense').

Re. 6.1.2.: The modification of the meaning of *make* in collocations of the 'transform'-group is of two kinds: (a) When the transformation involves a person or thing other than the subject, the meaning of *make* is modified in the direction of 'turn into' (*to make a novelist of someone - učiniti koga romanopiscem, to make a hero of someone - proglasiti koga herojem, make someone head - imenovati koga šefom*). Serbo-Croatian is again more specific than the English and the learner who projects his native usage into English will miss the collocations with *make* and use instead verbs like *declare, proclaim, appoint*, etc. (b) When the transformation involves the subject, *make* is modified to mean 'be' or 'become'

(*He'll make a good soldier. - On će biti dobar vojnik. He'll make a champion. - On će postati šampion.*).

Re. 6.1.3.: In this group *make* is modified in a number of ways. One of the meanings, still close to prototype, is 'form' - as when a number of individual people or things together form a certain shape or collective unity, or when a number of smaller units of quantity combine to give a higher unit. The nouns which collocate with *make* in this group all belong to the class denoting shape, assemblage or association, amount or quantity. The characteristic feature that distinguishes this group from 6.1.1. is [-Produce], since the subject and the object of *make* have the same extralinguistic reference, only the latter specifies the form and the former does not.

Other meanings of *make* that are brought forth collocationally depart more clearly from the central meaning in the direction of 'succeed', 'travel', 'score', 'reckon', etc., and their Serbo-Croatian equivalents are all specific verbs like *uspjeti, stići, doseći, postići, računati*, etc.

6.2. In collocations with nouns as objects, the verb *take* has the following meanings:

6.2.1. Get hold

A. Physical objects

(a) by hand

take a match	- *uzeti šibicu*
take a sandwich	- *uzeti sendvič*
take a tray	- *uzeti poslužavnik*
take a sheet of paper	- *uzeti list papira*
take the papers	- *preuzeti dokumente*
take the books	- *preuzeti knjige*
take by the hand	- *primiti za ruku*

take someone's hand - *uzeti nečiju ruku*

(b) physiologically

take a pill - *popiti pilulu*
take a swallow - *otpiti gutljaj/ gutnuti*
take a few nips - *popiti gutljaj-dva*
take a sip - *gucnuti/srknuti*
take nips - *tu i tamo srknuti*
take a drink - *popiti čašu*
take breakfast - *uzeti doručak*
take a puff - *uvući dim*
take a breath - *udahnuti*

B. Non-objects

(a) for consideration

take problems - *iznositi pvobleme*
take a case/ example - *uzeti na primjer*
take inspiration - *naći poticaj*

(b) for use

take advice - *primiti savjet*
take counsel - *tražiti savjet*
take a proposition - *prihvatiti prijedlog*
take comfort - *primiti čiju utjehu/ utješiti se*
take one's hand - *prihvatiti čiju ruku*
take one's word - *povjerovati*
take treatments - *liječiti se*
take the sun - *sunčati se*

(c) for endurance

take failure - *prihvatiti poraz*
take the truth - *prihvatiti istinu*
take punishment - *primiti kaznu*
take a loss - *primiti gubitak*

take the pressure - *izdržati pritisak*
take abuse - *podnositi zlostavljanje*
take a risk - *preuzeti rizik/riskirati*
take a chance - *riskirati*

(d) in transformations

take shape - *poprimiti oblik*
take the form - *poprimiti formu*
take the image - *poprimiti lik*

6.2.2. Take into possession

A. Something offered as payment

take a bill - *uzeti novčanicu*
take money - *uzeti novac*
take the check - *primiti ček*

B. Something offered for payment

take a room - *uzeti sobu*
take an apartment - *uzeti stan*
take out an insurance policy - *uzeti policu osiguranja*
take the pants - *uzeti hlače*
take a table - *rezervirati stol*

C. Something not offered but taken by force or stealth (as indicated in a particular context of situation)

take the jewels - *ukrasti dragulje*
take the collection - *ukrasti kolekciju slika*
take one's savings - *uzeti nečiju uštedu*
take one's gun - *oteti nekome pušku*
take virginity - *oduzeti djevičanstvo*

6.2.3 Perform movement

A. in a certain way or with a certain aim

take a walk	*poći u šetnju/ prošetati se*
take a stroll	*progibati se*
take a stretch	*protegnuti se*
take trips	*putovati*
take a step	*zakoraknuti/načiniti korak*
take a bow	*klanjati se*
take a leap	*preskočiti*
take a fall	*pasti*
take a dive	*zaroniti*
take a seat	*sjesti*
take seats	*zauzeti mjesta*
take the corner	*zaokrenuti na uglu*
take the direction	*ići u smjeru*

B. by a certain means

take a cab/taxi	*odvesti se taksijem*
take the subway	*odvesti se podzemnom željeznicom*
take the bus	*odvesti se autobusom*
take the elevator	*popeti se liftom*
take a plane	*odletjeti*
take the stairs	*uspinjati se stubama*

6.2.4. Perform action

take a bath	*okupati se*
take a shower	*istuširati se*
take a look	*pogledati*
take a glance	*baciti pogled*
take aim	*naciljati*

6.2.5. Use

A. time

take a day	*iskoristiti dan*
take a holiday	*uzeti dopust*
take a vacation	*krenuti na odmor*

take a rest	*- odmoriti se*
take a pause	*- napraviti stanku*
take a break	*- predahnuti*

B. energy

take electricity	*- trošiti struju*
take gas	*- trošiti plin*
take energy	*- oduzimati energiju*

6.2.6. Require

take time	*- trebati vremena*
take nerve	*- trebati smionosti*
take a moment	*- trebati trenutak/ trajati čas*
take an hour	*- potrajati jedan sat*
take months	*- zahtijevati mjesece*
take an eternity	*- biti potrebna cijela vječnost*
take electricity	*- zahtijevati struju*
take gas	*- zahtijevati plin*

6.2.7. Record

take an impression	*- uzeti otisak*
take an imprint	*- dobiti otisak*
take an X-ray	*- napraviti rtg. snimak*
take a smear	*- uzeti razmaz*
take words	*- bilježiti riječi*
take one´s address	*- zapisati nečiju adresu*
take one´s number	*- uzeti nečiji telefonski broj*
take (a) mental note	*- zapisati u mislima*
take the test	*- napraviti probu*
take one´s pulse	*- izmjeriti puls*
take a poll	*- provoditi anketu*
take pictures	*- snimati*
take photographs	*- fotografirati*

6.2.8. Undergo instruction

take lessons	- *uzimati privatne satove*
take swimming lessons	- *učiti plivati*
take a seminar	- *pohadjati seminar*
take a course	- *slušati kolegij*

6.2.9. Adopt

A. certain deliberate moves

take action	- *poduzeti akciju*
take measures	- *poduzeti mjere*
take steps	- *poduzeti korake*
take hold	- *uzeti u svoje ruke*
take control	- *preuzeti upravljanje*
take the lead	- *preuzeti vodstvo*
take care	- *voditi brigu*
take account	- *povesti računa*
take trouble	- *ulagati truda*
take pains	- *potruditi se*
take part	- *sudjelovati/imati udjela*

B. certain intellectual or emotional committments

take an attitude	- *zauzeti stav*
take a stand	- *zauzeti stajalište*
take sides	- *izjasniti se*
take an interest	- *zanimati se*

C. certain emotional states

take offense	- *uvrijediti se*
take pleasure	- *nalaziti zadovoljstvo*
take delight	- *diviti se*
take pride	- *ponositi se*
take satisfaction	- *osjećati zadovoljstvo*
take enjoyment	- *crpiti užitak*

6.2.lo. Carry/lead

take something somewhere - *nositi/odnijeti nešto nekamo*
take somebody somewhere - *voditi/povesti nekoga nekamo*

Comments:

Re. 6.2.1.: Getting hold of objects and (metaphorically) non-objects is the basic meaning of *take*. Taking is normally done by hand, except in the case of objects which are ingested or otherwise taken physiologically. In examples like *He took a pill* the meaning of the verb is ambiguous and two interpretations are possible: 'He took a pill in his hand' and 'He swallowed a pill'. With nouns which refer to quantities in which certain kinds of food and drink are ingested rather than to the substances themselves (e.g., *sip, nips, swallow*, etc.) only one interpretation is normally possible - that of ingestion: *He took a sip* ('He drank a sip').

The normal, collocationally unmotivated, Serbo-Croatian correspondent of *take* is *uzeti*. It also appears in collocations with nouns referring to physical objects taken by hand. The correspondents of *take* in 'ingestive' collocations are semantically specific verbs like *popiti* ('drink'), *gutnuti, gucnuti, srknuti* ('sip'), *uvući* ('inhale'), *žderati, lokati* ('gulp'), and these are the verbs which will guide the learner in his choice of equivalents in English - usually to produce something like the glosses given in brackets here.

Getting hold of non-objects is a mental operation. Serbo-Croatian correspondents of *take* are *iznositi* ('present'), *uzeti* ('take'), *naći* ('find') when something is taken for consideration; when it is taken for use, the correspondents are mainly *primiti* and *prihvatiti* ('accept'); the same is true also when something is endured, but in this case another correspondent is possible, namely, *izdržati* ('stand', 'withstand'); when something is taken as a form of transformation, the correspondent of *take* is *poprimiti* ('assume').

Re.6.2.2.: The meaning of *take* in collocations in this group is 'acquire into (permanent or temporary) possession'. The actual physical grasping of the object is not emphasized but rather the fact that the subject has assumed possession of the object in question. The manner of getting into possession is indicated in Serbo-Croatian in subgroup (c), where the correspondents of *take* are *ukrasti* ('steal'), *uzeti/oduzeti* ('rob', 'deprive', 'take away').

Re. 6.2.3.: Collocations in subgroup (a) involve nouns of the 'movement'-class, all of which are converted verbs: *take a walk - to walk, take a stroll - to stroll, take a dive - to dive*, etc. Serbo-Croatian normally uses verbs in this situation (*prošetati se, progibati se, zaroniti*) and Serbo-Croatian learners of English have some difficulty in developing the habit of spontaneous use of collocations with *take*. In subgroups (b) and (c), similarly, the learner's mother tongue suggests other solutions in English than collocations with *take*. These solutions do not produce ungrammatical results, but they do affect the idiomaticity of the learner's expression.

Re. 6.2.4.: Collocations in this group are similar to those in group 6.2.3. (a), and the contrastive consequences for Serbo-Croatian learners of English are the same.

Re. 6.2.5.: The modification of *take* in collocations in this group is less marked than in the preceding group: it means appropriating time or energy for one's use. Serbo-Croatian correspondents show no dinstinct pattern, but *uzeti* is possible in many cases (*take a day off - uzeti slobodan dan, take a holiday - uzeti dopust, take a pause - uzeti pauzu, take energy - uzimati energiju*).

Re. 6.2.6.: The verb *take* is modified to mean ‘require’ in collocations with nouns refering to time, resources, properties, etc. needed to accomplish something. What is to be accomplished is expressed in the subject of the sentence, which is often transformed into an infinitive, with the provisional *it* formally filling the subject position: *It takes a lot of nerve to do something like this.* ← *To do something like this takes a lot of nerve.* The corresponding verb in Serbo-Croatian is *trebati/biti potreban* and the sentence pattern is the subject-less impersonal construction with a dependent clause (*Potrebno je/ treba imati dobre živce da bi se učinilo nešto takva*) or the type of sentence whose subject is the indefinite *čovjek* (*Čovjek mora imati dobre živce da bi učinio nešto takva*). Assuming that the learner models his English on the native pattern, he will produce sentences of the type ‘It is necessary to have a lot of nerve to do something like this’ in the first case and ‘One must have a lot of nerve to do something like this’ in the second case. When *take* is used with a definite subject in such collocations, its correspondents vary and its replacements in the learner’s speech vary accordingly: *He took two hours to finish the job. - Trebala su mu dva sata da završi taj posao.* (‘*Two hours were needed to him to finish the job’. Even when the learner acquires the pattern ‘It took him two hours to finish the job’, he will still find it difficult to make the next step and bring *he* into the subject position.) *The cathedral took half a century to build. - Gradnja katedrale trajala je pola stoljeća.* (‘The building of the cathedral lasted half a century.’) *The journey takes five hours. - Putovanje traje pet sati.* (‘The journey lasts five hours.’)

Re. 6.2.7.: The meaning of *take* in collocations in this group is ‘record’, and the result of recording is a visual, auditory or mental record of an object, event or state. Corresponding Serbo-Croatian collocations make use of various specific verbs in addition to *uzeti* ('take'): *dobiti* ('obtain'), *ostaviti* ('leave'), *napraviti* ('make'), *bilježiti* ('record'), *zapisati* ('write down'), *izmjeriti* ('measure'), *provoditi* ('conduct'), etc.

Re. 6.2.8.: The nouns which collocate with *take* in the sense 'undergo instruction' (rather than simply 'attend') belong to the subclass of 'instructional' nouns referring to the organizational forms into which the process of instruction is subdivided. Verbs which correspond to *take* in such contexts in Serbo-Croatian include *uzimati* ('take'), *imati* ('have'), *pohadjati* ('attend'), *slušati* ('listen'). Only the last of these correspondents can be expected to cause interference in the learner's use of English (*slušati kolegij* - '*listen to a course'), while all the others will produce grammatical - in varying degress less idiomatic - English collocations.

Re. 6.2.9.: In collocations in this group the meaning of *take* is modified in the direction of 'adopt', with three subdivisions defined by the subclasses of the nouns involved. Serbo-Croatian correspondents of *take* are of three kinds: first, the verb *uzeti* and its derivatives (*poduzeti, preuzeti, zauzeti*); second, certain other verbs which the nouns in these groups select as collocates; third, certain verbs which are derivationally related to the nouns involved in collocation (*take delight - diviti se, take pride - ponositi se, take an interest - zanimati se, take revenge - osvetiti se, take offense - uvrijediti se*).

Re. 6.2.10.: The last type of collocational grouping is not defined in terms of the class of nouns that *take* accepts but rather in terms of the structural pattern into which it fits. The pattern is 'take something/somebody somewhere' and the number of subclasses of inanimate and animate nouns that can go with *take* is quite large. With inanimate nouns the meaning of *take* is modified in the direction of 'carry'.

and with animate nouns in the direction of 'lead'. Serbo-Croatian is quite consistent in using *odnijeti/nositi* for the former meaning and *povesti/voditi* for the latter.

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PASSIVE SENTENCES IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

Part II

Introductory remarks. In Part I of this paper we dealt with passive sentences having noun-headed constructions as surface realizations of underlying cases. We mentioned that predicators differ as to the number and the kind of underlying cases they combine with. But verbs differ also with respect to whether they allow embedded propositions as occupants of certain case roles.

(1) They mentioned his name. →	Pomenuli su njegovo ime. →
(2) His name was mentioned.	Njegovo ime je pomenuto.
(2a) *It was mentioned his name.	
(3) They mentioned that he was absent. →	Pomenuli su da je on odsutan. →
(4) That he was absent was mentioned.	Da je odsutan bilo je pomenuto.
(4a) It was mentioned that he was absent.	Pomenuto je da je on odsutan.

The examples quoted show that, depending on whether the Neut case is realized as a real NP or a proposition, E sentences with the same predicator behave differently under the passive transformation.

The most general classification of verbs both in E and S-C (and this may be a universal classification) is into verbs of action (*hit*, *break*, *cook*, etc.), verbs of mental processes (*think*, *suppose*, *forget*, etc.), and verbs of relation (*be*, *sound*, *seem*, etc.) (see: Halliday, 1970). We shall be concerned mainly with verbs of mental processes, as they are the ones that allow propositions as occupants of certain case roles. Verbs of mental processes can be roughly subclassified into verbs of cognition (*assume*, *suppose*, *realize*, etc.), verbs of perception (*see*, *hear*, *watch*, etc.), verbs of communication (say, suggest, forbid, etc.), and verbs of psychological reaction (surprise, worry, irritate, etc.).[1] Many verbs of this group are polysemic, their homonymous forms falling into more than one of the subclasses and the semantic differences often being correlated to differences in syntactic behaviour. The predicators under discussion differ with respect to the surface forms of the propositional arguments with which the predicators combine, and this depends on an interplay of inherent features, contextual features, rule features, certain deep structure constraints, etc., so that it would be practically impossible to take into account all the relevant factors influencing the behaviour of particular verbs in a general study like ours. If one were to take into consideration all the relevant parameters, one would finish by writing a grammar for every particular verb. Our description will of necessity have to deal with only those features which are of immediate concern for the passive transformation, ignoring the details of so vast a subject as sentential complements.

Embedded propositions as occupants of certain case roles can show up in surface structure as full-fledged sentences, but they can also, as a consequence of undergoing certain obligatory or optional transformational rules, turn up as truncated structures. Verbs taking sentential complements can be classified with respect to the kind of complementizer(s) (marks of subordination) they take. The main complementizers in E are that, to, for – to, Poss-ing (-ing) and wh-. In S-C the main complementizers are da(that) (alternating sometimes with što, kako and gde), infinitive, and wh-complementizers: da li [(=if, whether), alternating with šta(what), gde(where), kada(when), kako(how), kakav(what kind of), etc.][2] Both in E and S-C the choice of complementizer(s) depends on the predicator in the higher sentence. Our main concern will be how the complementizer chosen by the higher verb influences the subjectivization rule in the passive sentence. With a number of verbs taking sentential complements as realizations of underlying case roles, the sentential complements can alternate with real nouns, often influencing the rule of subjectivization in a passive sentence. (This fact should be marked in the lexical frames of the verbs.)

(5) They announced the arrival of the President. →   Objavili su dolazak predsednika. →

(6) The arrival of the President was announced.
Objavljen je dolazak predsednika.

(7) They announced that the President was arriving. →
Objavili su da predsednik dolazi. →

(8) It was announced that the President was arriving.
Objavljeno je da predsednik dolazi.

Verbs taking 'that-clauses' as realizations of the underlying Neuter case.[3] Among the verbs that take that-clauses in E and da-clauses in S-C in the function of direct object in an active sentence, several groups emerge if the number of arguments they combine with is taken into account. Verbs such as assume, consider, suppose, think, etc., and their S-C equivalents are two-argument verbs [x, S] which combine with the underlying Agent (or Experiencer) and Neuter cases, the Neut being realized as a sentential complement.

(9) We believe that he is innocent.
Exp Neut
Mi verujemo da je on nevin.
Exp Neut

Order, recommend, request, teach (communication verbs) can combine optionally with the underlying Goal [x, (y), S], which functions as an indirect object, in addition to the Agent and Neuter cases.

(10) They taught for centuries
Ag
that the earth was flat.
Neut
Vekovima su predavali da je zemlja ravna.

(11) The monks taught their pupils
Ag Goal
that the earth was flat.
Neut
Kaludjeri su učili djake
Ag Goal
da je zemlja ravna.
Neut

With verbs such as tell, compel, and force, which are three-argument verbs [x, y, S], the Neut can be realized as a clause only in the presence of a real NP, which is the surface realization of the underlying Goal.

(12) They told John that Mary would come.
Rekli su Jovanu da će Marija doći.

(12a) *They told that Mary would come.	Rekli su da će Marija doći.

(In S-C the verb *reći* combines optionally with Goal [x, (y), S].) With *compel* and *force* the embedded clause is always reduced to an infinitive in E, as the Goal of the matrix sentence and Ag of the embedded clause must be coreferential, which for these verbs entails Equi-NP deletion (the rule does not apply here in S-C).

(13) They forced him to sign	Oni su ga naterali da potpiše
Ag Goal Neut	Ag Goal Neut
the document.	dokument.
(14) Illness[4] compelled him	Bolest ga je primorala
Ins Goal	Ins Goal
to give up his studies. —	da napusti studije.
Neut	Neut

Such verbs, like all the other verbs that are followed by real NPs, offer no particular problem, nor do they shed any new light on passive sentences, so they will not be dealt with here.

Two-argument verbs. Many of the verbs of saying, thinking, and psychological reaction are two-argument verbs combining with the underlying Agent (or Exp) and Neuter cases. In the active sentence the Ag(Exp) is subjectivized and the Neut, which is realized as an embedded clause, is objectivized. We shall deal first with those verbs that can choose the complementizer *that* in the embedded clause (some of the verbs belonging to this group, such as *advocate, deplore, regret, suggest, propose* and others are not restricted only to the *that* complementizer). All the verbs listed in Rosenbaum (1967, 120-121) as taking the *that* complementizer (140 in number, though the list is not exhaustive) can form passive sentences by inserting *it* in subject position, which entails the extraposition of the *that*-clause.

(15) Everybody believed that I was responsible for the accident.	Svi su verovali da sam ja odgovorna za udes.

The passive version in which the *that*-clause is subjectivized is possible, but less used.

(16) That I was responsible for the accident was believed by everybody.	Verovalo se da sam ja odgovorna za udes.

In S-C, where subjectivization does not entail the shifting of the nominal element into initial position in the sentence, the verb is passivized and the *da*-clause usually follows the verb. The subjectivization of a Neut case which is a clause requires the verb to be inflected for 3rd. pers. sing. neut. In English, which requires the subject slot to be filled, the so-called expletive *it*[5] is inserted in initial position.

(17) It was believed by everybody that I was responsible for...	Verovalo se da sam ja odgovorna za udes.

Most of the verbs that we are dealing with require in subject position of the active sentence an NP that has the feature [+human], which would be redundant information considering that most of the verbs have Ag or Exp cases functioning as subject. But there are certain verbs in this group, such as *prove, show, indicate,* which may take non-personal subjects (they will be discussed later). Only those passive sentences undergo *it* insertion whose active counterparts have a personal subject. If the matrix sentence and the embedded clause have coreferential NPs in subject function, such sentences have no passive counterpart, except when the agent is expressed.

(18) I supposed that I was indispensable. $\nLeftrightarrow$	Pretpostavljala sam da sam neophodna. $\nLeftrightarrow$
(19) It was supposed that I was indispensable.	Pretpostavljalo se da sam neophodna.

Sentence (19) is an acceptable sentence but it is not synonymous with sentence (18), as (19) can be interpreted only so that a third party supposed me to be indispensable. The agent must be expressed in order to obtain the passive counterpart of sentence (18).

(20) It was supposed by me that I was indispensable.

The majority of verbs of this class do not undergo the Equi-NP deletion rule if the subject NPs in the matrix and the embedded clauses are coreferential.

(21)	He declared that he was ready to fight.	Izjavio je da je spreman da se bori.
(22)	*He declared to be ready to fight.	

There are a number of verbs of this class, such as decide, expect, agree, promise, which can optionally undergo the Equi-NP deletion rule in the active sentence if the matrix and the embedded sentences have coreferential subjects.

(23)	They promised that they would help John. →	Obećali su da će pomoći Džonu. →
(24)	They promised to help John.	Obećali su pomoći Džonu.
(25)	They expected that they would go to the party. →	Očekivali su da će ići na prijem. →
(26)	They expected to go to the party.	*Očekivali su ići na prijem.

But as a rule examples such as (24) and (26) have no passive counterpart even if the agent is expressed. It is interesting to note that with a few verbs such passive sentences are to be found.

(27)	My family decided to go abroad. →	Moja porodica je odlučila da ide u inostranstvo. →
(28)	It was decided (by my family) to go abroad. (cited from Quirk et al., p. 835)	
(29)	It was decided therefore to ask a small number of schools to cooperate in an experiment in group teaching...... (ELT document 73/2, An Experiment in Group Teaching in Modern Languages - Scottish Education Department, p. 1)	Stoga je odlučeno da se zatraži od jednog malog broja škola da saradjuju na jednom eksperimentu grupnog poučavanja...[6]

Quirk et al. (1972, 835) quote three verbs (agree, decide and feel) as being exceptions to the rule that expletive it never occurs in passive structures in which the infinitive follows the passivized verb. This structure is not confined to the three verbs quoted by Quirk et al., as the following example, which Wayles Browne drew my attention to, shows:

(30) It was voted (proposed) to give $ 3000 to the Portuguese.
Izglasano je (predloženo je) da se da 3000 dolara Portugalcima.

A considerable number of verbs that take that-clauses in the function of direct object in active sentences can undergo what Lees (1963, 63) calls the "second passive" transformation (assume, believe, consider, declare, discover, expect, find, feel, deny, know, report, judge, prove, guess, think, etc.). One of the characteristics of this group of verbs is that they have several variants both in the active and the passive.

From the underlying structure:

(31) They proved [he is wrong]
Dokazali su [on nema pravo]

(32) can be derived,

(32) They proved him (to be) wrong.
Dokazali su da on nema pravo.

by applying the rule of Object-raising (verbs which undergo this transformation must be marked for this rule feature): the subject of the embedded clause is lifted into object position of the matrix sentence, entailing the infinitivization of the verb in the embedded clause. The infinitive can be optionally deleted if it is the copula be, but only with those verbs that are marked for the rule feature To-Be-Del.

Verbs of this class (unless they are factive) can undergo Subject-raising from the embedded clause into the subject position of the matrix sentence entailing the passivization of the verb in the matrix sentence and the infinitivization of the verb in the embedded clause,[7] so that the following passive variant is derived:

(33) He was proved to be wrong.
Dokazano je da on nema pravo.

As can be seen from the S-C translation equivalents of E sentences (32) and (33), the S-C sentences have not undergone either the Obj-raising or the Subj-raising rules. But there are a number of verbs in S-C which can undergo the Obj-raising rule (though this has not been recorded in the grammars of S-C). We have found that the following S-C verbs: smatrati (consider, think), držati (take for), proglasiti, oglasiti (declare, proclaim), odrediti(appoint), priznati(recognize) (W. Browne drew my attention to the last verb) can undergo the Obj-raising rule in the active sentence and Subj-raising rule in the passive sentence, but only if the predicator in the embedded sentence is the copula be + a non-verbal element.[8] When the subject NP from the embedded clause is raised into the higher sentence it gets the accusative inflection, the copula be undergoes obligatory deletion and the predicative NP or AdjP are inflected for instrumental[9] or can optionally be turned into prepositional phrases by inserting the preposition za (for), in which case the N or the Adj get the accusative inflection.[10] From the underlying form (we neglect all details):

(34) Smatrali su [on (je) budala] They thought [he (be) a fool]

we can derive the following active variant if the complementizer da is inserted:

(35) Smatrali su da je on budala. They thought that he was a fool.

By applying the Obj-raising rule to the underlying form (34) the following active variant is obtained:

(36) Smatrali su ga budalom(za budalu). They thought him(to be)a fool.

When the Subject-raising rule is applied to the underlying form in (34), the matrix verb is passivized and the predicative NP (or AdjP) gets instrumental inflection or is turned into a prepositional phrase governed by the preposition za which requires accusative inflection.

(37) On je smatran budalom (za budalu).[11] He was thought to be a fool.

If no Subject-raising occurs, then the higher verb is passivized and the *da*-clause remains unchanged, which is the case with all the other verbs that are followed by sentential complements in object function.

(38) Smatrano je (smatralo se) da je on budala.
It was thought that he was a fool.

If the embedded *that*-clause is introduced by an existential *there*, *there*, which behaves syntactically like a subject pronoun, may undergo the Object-raising and the Subject-raising rules.

(39) They expected [there was some brandy in the bottle][12]
Očekivali su [u boci ima brandija].

By applying the rule of Object-raising the following structure is obtained:

(40) They expected there to be some brandy in the bottle.

The application of the rule of Subj-raising entails the passivization of the verb in the higher sentence just like with other NPs which are raised out of an embedded clause to subject position in the matrix sentence.

(41) There was expected to be some brandy in the bottle.
Očekivalo se da u boci ima brandija.

It should be noted that the verb in the passive structures introduced by the existential *there* is in number agreement with the NP in the embedded clause.

(42) Ecologists believe that there are pesticides destroying our food supply in the sea.
Ekolozi veruju da u moru ima pesticida koji nam uništavaju izvore hrane.

(43) There are believed to be pesticides destroying our food supply in the sea.

Another point to be noted is that, whereas passive sentences introduced by the expletive *it* can be expanded by the agential phrase, those introduced by the existential there must be agentless (at least for some speakers).

(44)	The reporters say that there were five in the house.	Novinari vele da ih je u kući bilo pet.
(45)	?*There are said by the reporters to have been five in the house.	

There are certain constraints imposed on the application of the Object-raising and Subject-raising rules by the verb phrase in the embedded clause. The presence of an auxiliary that cannot be infinitivized blocks these transformations.

(46)	Do you believe that he will come?	Veruješ li da će on doći?

is not in a paraphrase relation with:

(47) ? Do you believe him to come?

(47), if acceptable at all, comes from:

(48)	Do you believe that he comes (regularly)?	Veruješ li da dolazi (redovno?

Verbs that require the feature [+Fut] in their complements are constrained differently with respect to the two rules, as the future meaning is clear without the auxiliary.

(49)	Everybody expected that John would come on Monday.	Svi su očekivali da će Džon doći u ponedeljak.
(50)	Everybody expected John to come on Monday.	
(51)	John was expected to come on Monday.	Očekivalo se da će Džon doći u ponedeljak.

Factive verbs[13] do not allow the application of the two rules, as there can be no lifting out of factive complements and consequently no infinitive reduction,

(52)	Everybody deplored that John died so young.	Svi su žalili što je Jovan umro tako mlad.
(52a)	*John was deplored to have died so young.	

so that the passive counterpart of (52) is:

(53) It was deplored that John died so young.

A special subclass of two-argument verbs taking sentential complements. Among the two-argument verbs listed in Rosenbaum (1967, 120) as taking sentential complements (*that*-complementizer) there is a subclass that warrants separation into a special group: they are not only semantically related, but also exhibit certain idiosyncratic syntactic properties (*desire, dislike, hate, like, love, prefer* and *want*). All these verbs can undergo the Obj-raising rule (if not followed by a factive complement), some of them obligatorily, whereas they cannot undergo the Subj-raising rule, which has consequences for the passive transformation. From the underlying form:

(54) He prefers [his wife wear simple clothes]. — On više voli [njegova žena nosi jednostavnu odeću].

by choosing the complementizer *that*, the following sentence can be derived:

(55) He prefers that his wife should wear simple clothes. — On više voli da njegova žena nosi jednostavnu odeću.

If the rule of Obj-raising is applied, the following structure is obtained (in S-C the only choice is the complementizer *da*):

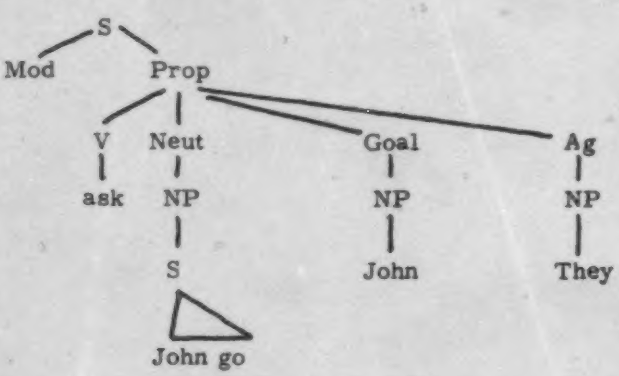
(56) He prefers his wife to wear simple clothes.

In the following examples Obj-raising is obligatory:

(57) I like [my wife wear simple clothes]. — Volim [moja žena nosi jednostavnu odeću].
(58) I like my wife to wear simple clothes. — Volim da moja žena nosi jednostavnu odeću.
(59) I want [my wife wear simple clothes]. — Želim [moja žena nosi jednostavnu odeću].
(60) I want my wife to wear simple clothes.[14] — Želim da moja žena nosi jednostavnu odeću.

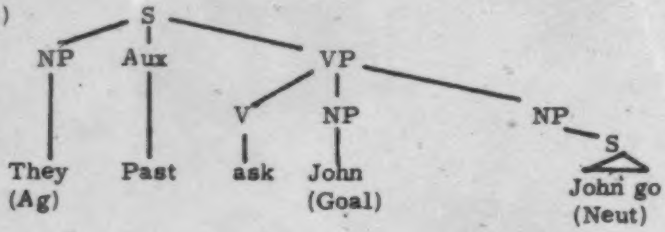
Verbs of this group have been lumped together with verbs such as compel, ask, expect, force, invite, teach, warn, etc., as verbs taking the "accusative and infinitive" construction (Hornby, 1954, 20-21) or " object with infinitive" construction (Pervaz, 1973, 84). The verbs of the love, like group and the verb expect are two-argument verbs, whereas the above quoted verbs are three-argument verbs (some, such as ask, command, order, request may be two-argument verbs too, in which case they do not participate in the so-called "accusative and infinitive" construction and are not relevant for this discussion). The three-argument verbs such as compel, ask, force, invite, etc. combine with the Agent, Goal, and Neuter cases, the Neut being realized as a sentential argument (structures without sentential arguments, such as: We invited him, are not relevant for this discussion). The underlying structure of sentences with such predicators is roughly (we take as predicator: ask, Goal: John, and Agent: they):

(61)



If the Ag is promoted to subject function, an active sentence is obtained:

(62)

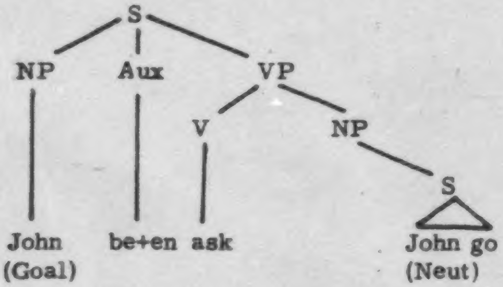


The rule of Equi-NP deletion applies obligatorily, so that the sentence reads:

(63) They asked John to go. Zamolili su Džona da ide.

If the Goal is promoted to subject function a passive sentence is obtained (entailing Equi-NP deletion and the infinitivization of the embedded verb.)

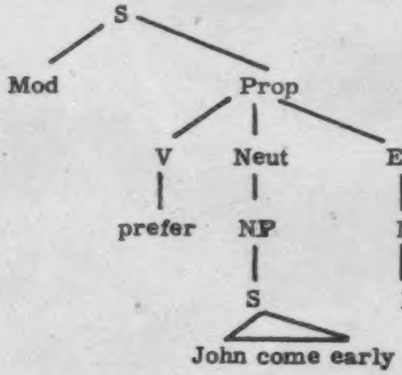
(64)


S
NP
Aux
VP
V
NP
S
John
(Goal)
be+en
ask
John go
(Neut)

(65) John was asked to go. Džon je zamoljen da ide.

The verbs of the love, like group are two-argument verbs appearing in the case frame [___+Neut +Exp]. The underlying structure is roughly (predicator: prefer, Neut: John come early, Exp: I):

(66)

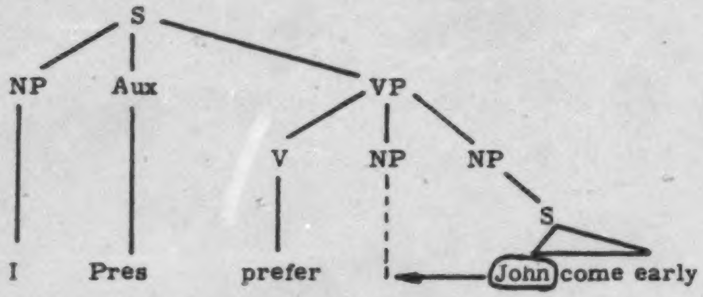

S
Mod
Prop
V
Neut
Exp
prefer
NP
NP
S
I
John come early

From this underlying structure several surface structures may be derived. The Neut case may be realized as a *that*-clause,

(67) I prefer that John come early. Više volim da Džon dodje rano.

or the rule of Obj-rais may apply, entailing the infinitivization of the embedded verb:

(68)



(69) I prefer John to come early. Više volim da Džon dodje rano.

As can be seen from the above discussion, the two-argument verbs of the *love, like* group should not be confused with the three-argument verbs (*compel, ask,* etc.), as they have nothing in common but their surface form in the active sentence: NP_1 V NP_2 to-V, which is the result of two different transformational histories. If the two groups were lumped together, then the *love, like* group would have to be an exception to the passive transformation.

(70) We asked John to go. Zamolili smo Džona da ide.
Ag Goal Neut
(71) John was asked to go. Džon je zamoljen da ide.
Goal Neut
(72) We prefer John to go. Više volimo da Džon ide.
Exp Neut
(73) *John is preferred to go.

The fact that (73) is unacceptable is the result of the constraint imposed on the application of the Subj-raising rule with this group of verbs and not the result of a constraint on the application of the passive transformation. The verbs of this group (with the exception of *want*) undergo the passive transformation freely if the Neut is realized as a real noun.

(74) Everybody hated John. Svi su mrzeli Džona.
(75) John was hated by everybody. Džon je bio omražen.

A two-argument verb such as *expect* (which is listed in Hornby with other verbs taking the "accusative and infinitive" construction) can undergo both the Obj-raising and the Subj-raising rules.

(76) We$_{\text{Exp}}$ expect $\left[\text{he go}\right]_{\text{Neut}}$. Mi očekujemo $\left[\text{on ide}\right]$.
(77) We expect him to go. Očekujemo da on ide.
(78) He is expected to go. Očekuje se da on ide.

The so-called "second passive" depends on the application of the Subj-raising rule, which should be treated as a separate rule and not as the second step following the Obj-raising rule (see our note 7.). The verbs of the other class (*compel, invite*, etc.) do not undergo the two rules anyway, and the NP_2 following the verb in the active sentence (NP_1 V NP_2 to-V) is the realization of the underlying Goal, which can be subjectivized in the passive sentence without the intervention of any other rules but the rule of Subject Placement.
It should also be pointed out that,

(79) Mary loves it that John grows flowers. Marija voli *što* Džon gaji cveće.

which has no passive counterpart, is not synonymous with:

(80) Mary loves John to grow flowers. Marija voli *da* Džon gaji cveće.

as the sentential complement in (79) is factive, and in (80), non-factive. As can be seen, the S-C translation equivalents of the

E examples (79) and (80) form minimal pairs for the opposition factive/non-factive, in which što-complementizer (factive) and da-complementizer (non-factive) are in complementary distribution. In the E examples (79) and (80), the factive and the non-factive interpretations are matched by the different forms of the complement[15] (which is not the case with all verbs). The rule of Obj-rais is not applicable to the underlying structure of (79), since factive complements are not reducible to infinitive form. In S-C the distinction is signalled by the choice of the appropriate complementizer, as both complements must be realized as full-fledged clauses.[16]

If the subject of the sentential complement of the love, like group of verbs is coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence, the Equi-NP deletion rule applies obligatorily so that the complement shows up in the surface as an infinitive.

(81)	My family like [my family watch TV].	Moja porodica voli [moja porodica gleda televiziju].
(82)	My family like to watch TV.	Moja porodica voli da gleda TV.
(83)	They preferred [they remain silent].	
(84)	They preferred to remain silent.	Više su voleli da i dalje ćute.

The infinitives of such constructions are not subjectivized in passive sentences,

(85) *To watch TV is liked by my family.

though Rosenbaum (1967, 14) adduces the following example:

(86) To remain silent was preferred by everyone.

Even if (86) is an acceptable sentence (though informants say that it is on the border of acceptability), the fact that other verbs do not subjectivize the infinitive in passive sentences would require an explanatory note stating that the verb prefer is an exception to the stated constraint.

The passive of two-argument verbs taking factive subjects. Among the two-argument verbs taking sentential complements (*that*-complementizer) and undergoing *it* insertion and extraposition in the passive, there is a group of verbs such as *prove, show, indicate,* which may take non-personal subjects in the active (in which case there is no *it* insertion and extraposition). They are factive verbs taking factive sentential complements as realizations of the underlying Instrumental case. When these verbs combine with the Neut and Ag cases they behave like other two-argument verbs taking the *that*-complementizer.

(87) They proved that he was guilty. — Dokazali su da je on kriv.
(88) It was proved that he was guilty. — Dokazano je da je on kriv.

But unlike other verbs listed in Rosenbaum as taking the *that*-complementizer, they can take multiple sentential complements.[16]

(89) That he had blood on his hands (Ins) proved that he was guilty (Neut). — To što su mu ruke bile krvave dokazalo je da je kriv.
(90) (The fact) that the experiment succeeded (Ins) indicated (showed) that the hypothesis was correct (Neut). — To što je eksperiment uspeo pokazalo je da je hipoteza tačna.

In the passive counterpart of such sentences the Neut is subjectivized and the abstract Ins is turned into a by+NP phrase in E, and the instrumental case inflection is added in S-C. *That*-clauses and their S-C equivalents *da*-clauses (or *što*- clauses) cannot have a preposition before them or case endings after them.[17] Therefore in E some such noun as *fact*[18] or *circumstance* must be used between *by* and the *that*-clause.

(91) That he was guilty (Neut) was proved by the fact that he had blood on his hands (Ins).

(92) That the hypothesis was correct was indicated (shown) by the circumstance that the experiment succeeded.

In S-C a noun such as *činjenica, fakat, okolnost* may be used in the same way, or the pronoun *to* (that, it) may be used before the clause to carry the instrumental ending, as it may before all kinds of clauses when they have to appear in an oblique case.

(93) Da je kriv dokazano je time što su mu ruke bile krvave.[19]

Passive sentences having as predicators a special class of S-C verbs after which a sentential complement can undergo optional infinitivization. After a great many E verbs that take sentential complements the rule of Equi-NP deletion is obligatory if the conditions for the rule are met, whereas in S-C the rule is of very limited applicability. There are two basic differences between the infinitivization rules in E and S-C. The rule in S-C is always optional, whereas in E there are a great many predicators with which it is obligatory. Secondly, the rule arises in S-C only from Equi-NP deletion resulting from coreferential subjects in the embedded and the matrix sentences,[20] whereas in E the rule may apply when the matrix object and the embedded subject are coreferential.[21] And, thirdly, in S-C the infinitival complement construction does not result from Subj-rais, which in E lifts the subject out of the embedded clause promoting it to subject position of the higher sentence, thus creating a condition for the infinitivization of the embedded verb phrase. In S-C Subj-rais applies only in case of non-verbal predicates in embedded clauses.

(94) He promised that he would marry me next autumn.	On je obećao da će me najesen uzeti.
(94a) He promised to marry me next autumn.	Obeć'o me najesen uzeti.
(95) I want him to go.	Želim da on ide. (I want that he goes)
(96) We forced him to leave the room.	Naterali smo ga da napusti sobu. (We forced him that (he) leaves the room).

The formalism of the application of the Equi-NP deletion rule in S-C, the conditions for its application, as well as its implications for the general linguistic theory, have been ingeniously and succinctly stated by W. Browne (1968) (see also Perlmutter (1969) and (1971)). We shall deal with the infinitival complementizer in cases which are relevant for the passive transformation.

Verbs which allow a choice between the da-complementizer[22] (which always introduces a full-fledged clause) and the infinitival complementizer fall into three groups: 1) auxiliary and semi-auxiliary verbs, such as hteti(want), moći(can), morati(must), smeti(dare), umeti(know how), trebati(ought), znati(know, can), and several others; 2) phasal verbs, such as početi(begin), prestati(stop), nastaviti(continue), etc.; and 3) a group of cognition and communication verbs (many of them verbs of volition), such as želeti(wish), obećati(promise), misliti(think, intend), zaboraviti(forget), naumiti(decide, intend), nameravati(intend), kaniti(intend, have in mind), odlučiti(decide), pokušati(try), voleti (like), etc. (a representative list is to be found in Belić (1965, 183) and M. Ivić, 1972). Although the verbs taking the infinitival complementizer have been divided into three groups, they all show certain common characteristics in their syntactic behaviour (phasal verbs are relevant for this study only when they take human subjects, because, when they do not, they cannot be passivized). Among the first group of verbs, which have been called "auxiliaries and related verbs" (Belić, 1965, 183) only the verb hteti(want, will), which is considered as the future auxiliary, has besides full forms, also enclitic forms. With the exception of trebati(ought), which in the eastern variant is a non-concord verb and has no passive anyway, the verbs of the first group have only the V^{se} passive, as they have no passive participle, whereas the verbs of the other two groups have.[23] As stated above, after all the listed verbs there is a choice between the finite verb clause and the infinitive in the embedded sentence if the subject nominals in the embedded and the matrix sentences are coreferential.[24]

(37) Oni$_i$ nisu hteli They didn't want [they
[oni$_i$ prihvate pomoć]. accept the help].

If the da-complementizer is chosen the following sentence is obtained (the repeated nominal oni(they) is usually deleted after the agreement rule has applied, which happens in S-C to all repeated nominals even across sentence boundaries):

(98) Oni nisu hteli da prihvate pomoć. (They did not want that (they) accept the help).

The decision to delete the underlying repeated nominal before the agreement rule applies results in the infinitival complementizer.

(99) Nisu hteli prihvatiti pomoć. They didn't want to accept the help.

When the verbs of this group undergo passive transformation, several possibilities exist. We shall first consider sentences in which the matrix and the embedded sentences have unlike subjects.

(100) Oni su želeli $[\text{mi prihvatimo pomoć}]_{\text{Neut}}$.

If the matrix sentence is passivized as a consequence of the subjectivization rule, the underlying Neut, which must be realized as a da-clause, is promoted to subject function, so that the verb has 3rd pers. sing. neut. concord (subject function in S-C does not require promotion to initial position in the sentence).

(101) Želelo se da mi prihvatimo pomoć. (It was wanted that we accept the help)

If both the matrix and the embedded clauses are passivized, then the sentence may be given two interpretations with verbs that allow both like subjects and unlike subjects in the matrix and the embedded clauses.

(102) Želelo se da se prihvati pomoć. (It was wanted that help should be accepted). They wanted to accept the help. They wanted X to accept the help.

If the matrix and the embedded sentences must have a coreferential subject as in (103),

(103) Oni$_i$ mogu [oni$_i$ nadju bolje rešenje].
They$_i$ can [they$_i$ find a better solution].

then, if the embedded sentence is passivized, the matrix sentence must be passivized too, the passive "se" in the matrix sentence being obligatorily deleted with verbs of group 1 (auxiliaries).

(104) Može Ø da se nadje bolje rešenje.
A better solution can be found.

As conditions for the choice of the infinitival complementizer exist (coreferential subjects in the matrix and the embedded clauses), the following sentence may be derived from (103):

(105) Može se naći bolje rešenje.
A better solution can be found.

From the point of view of contrastive study the subjectivization rules in such sentences are of particular interest. If the embedded verb is intransitive, the whole embedded clause is subjectivized in the passive, and the matrix verb bears 3rd pers. sing. neut. concord, as neuter concord is usual in S-C with clausal subjects. (Matrix verbs will be put in the perfect tense, where concord morphemes are best distinguished).

(106) Pro$_i$ je mogao [Pro$_i$ ide tamo.]
Pro$_i$ could [Pro$_i$ go there].

With verbs such as moći(can), which are constrained to have like subjects in the matrix and the embedded clauses, if the matrix verb is passivized the embedded verb must undergo the Ag(or Exp) deletion before the agreement rule applies, so that it turns up in the so-called "impersonal" form (Oni idu.→Ide se. See:Part I of this paper).

(107) Moglo je da se ide tamo.
(It could that one goes there).

If the embedded clause is infinitivized and the matrix passivized, the following structure is obtained:

(108) Tamo se moglo ići. It was possible to go there.

If the embedded verb is transitive, then a different subjectivization rule is required in the passive. Like in E sentences containing VPs with modal verbs, the object NP (underlying Neut) of the embedded clause is promoted to subject function[25] of the matrix sentence so that the passive verb is in person-number-and-gender agreement with it. This happens irrespective of whether the embedded clause is passivized or infinitivized.[26]

(109) Moglo (sing. neut.) je da se nadje bolje rešenje (sing. neut.)
(110) Moglo (sing. neut.) se naći bolje rešenje (sing. neut.)

The subject may also be put in initial position.

(111) Bolje rešenje je moglo da se nadje. A better solution could have been found.
(112) Bolje rešenje se moglo naći. (Inf.)

In English such subjectivization rules are applied only with verb phrases that contain a modal auxiliary.

(113) They could have found a better solution. Mogli su naći bolje rešenje.
(114) A better solution could have been found. Moglo se naći bolje rešenje.

As a result of the subjectivization of the Neut case (a better solution) the verb find is passivized (E modals have no non-finite forms and as a consequence cannot be passivized, so that could is followed by the passive infinitive of the main verb). The point that we should like to make is that, in S-C, verbs taking infinitival complementizers behave syntactically in the passive as if they were auxiliaries, irrespective of whether the complement is realized as a full-fledged clause or an infinitive. From the following underlying structure:

$$\text{(115) } \underset{\text{Ag}}{\text{Pro}}\text{ je mogao } \underset{\text{Neut}}{\left[\overset{\text{Ag}}{\text{Pro}}\text{ otkrije } \overset{\text{Neut}}{\text{zaveru}}\right]}$$

a passive sentence is obtained if the underlying Neut of the embedded clause (which in the active sentence functions as object of the embedded verb) is lifted into the matrix sentence and promoted to subject function, so that the matrix verb and the verb of the embedded clause share the same surface subject.

(116) Zavera (sing. fem. nom.) je mogla (sing. fem.) da bude otkrivena (sing. fem.).
(The conspiracy could that (it) would be discovered).

The embedded clause may be infinitivized if the Ag is deleted before the agreement rule applies, so that the active sentence (117) is obtained:

(117) Mogli su otkriti(Inf) zaveru (sing. fem. acc.) They could have discovered the conspiracy.

If the noun zavera(conspiracy), which is the object of the embedded verb, is subjectivized, and the Ag of the embedded clause deleted before the agreement rule occurs, then the passive counterpart of (117) is obtained.

(118) Zavera (sing. fem. nom.) se mogla (sing. fem.) otkriti. The conspiracy could have been discovered.
(118a) Zavera je mogla biti otkrivena (passive infinitive).

The raising of the object of the embedded verb(underlying Neut) to subject function of the matrix sentence, which entails the passivization of the matrix and the embedded verbs,[27] could be called the Object-to-Subject raising rule.[28] (In E there is Subject-to-Object raising, the so-called Object-raising rule, and Subject-to-Subject raising, the so-called Subject-raising rule). One more example will be adduced with the predicator in the matrix sentence belonging to group 1 (auxiliary and semi-auxiliary verbs). From the underlying structure in (119),

(119) Oni_i nisu smeli [oni_i odlažu izbore]. They did not dare [they postpone the elections].

the following active sentence is obtained:

(120) Oni nisu smeli da odlažu izbore (pl. masc. acc.).
(They did not dare that (they) postpone the elections.)
(120a) Oni nisu smeli odlagati (Inf) izbore (pl. masc. acc.) They did not dare postone the elections.

When the rule of Object-to-Subject raising is applied, (121) is derived:

(121) Izbori (pl. masc. nom.) nisu smeli (pl. masc.) da se odlažu (pl.).
(The elections did not dare that (they) be postponed)
(121a) Izbori (pl. masc. nom.) se nisu smeli (pl. masc.) odlagati (Inf).

We shall adduce examples with the verbs željeti(wish) and početi (begin) (belonging to groups 3 and 2 respectively) in order to illustrate that the same syntactic behaviour is manifested not only by the auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries (group 1), but also by other verbs allowing the infinitive complementizer (groups 2 and 3). From the underlying structure in (122),

(122) Oni$_i$ su želeli [oni$_i$ postignu ravnotežu]$_i$ They wished [they achieve a balance]

the active sentence in (123) is obtained if the complementizer da is chosen.

(123) Oni su želeli da postignu ravnotežu (sing. fem. acc.)
(They wished that (they) achieve a balance)

If the infinitive complementizer is chosen, the following active sentence is derived:

(124) Oni su želeli postići ravnotežu. They wished to achieve a balance.

If the Object-to-Subject raising rule is applied to (122), the following passive counterpart is obtained:[29]

(125) Želela (sing. fem.) se postići ravnoteža (sing. fem. nom.)
(It was wished to achieve a balance)

The following examples with the predicator početi(begin) undergo the same transformations:

(126) Oni_i su počeli $\left[\text{oni}_i\right.$ grade nova naselja $\left.\right]$	They began [they build new settlements]

The active sentence reads:

(127) Oni su počeli da grade nova naselja (pl. neut. acc.) (They began that (they) build new settlements.)	They began to build new settlements.

The passive counterparts are:

(128) Nova naselja su počela da se grade.
(New settlements were begun that (they) be built)
(129) Nova naselja su se počela graditi.
(New settlements were begun to be built).

Predicators taking the Poss-ing (-ing) complementizer and the passive rules that apply to them. Only verbal gerunds will be considered here, i.e. those gerunds that are derived from underlying sentences.[30] Gerunds that have a source in a sentence may appear in the surface as subjectless gerunds (-ing) or with the subject in the oblique case (Poss-ing).

(130) $\underset{\text{Ins}}{\text{The law}}\ \text{forbids}\ \left[\underset{\text{N e u t}}{\overset{\text{Ag}}{\text{Pro}}\ \text{shoot}\ \overset{\text{Neut}}{\text{deer}}}\right]$

The deletion of the underlying unspecified Ag in the embedded clause results in the -ing transformation, so that the following two structures may be obtained, depending on whether the underlying Ins of Neut is subjectivized:

(131) $\underset{\text{Ins}}{\text{The law}}\ \text{forbids}\ \underset{\text{Neut}}{\text{shooting}}$ deer.	Zakon zabranjuje da se ubijaju jeleni (ubijanje jelena).

(132)	Shooting deer is forbidden Neut by the law. Ins	Zakonom se zabranjuje da se ubijaju jeleni. Zakonom se zabranjuje ubijanje jelena.

As can be seen from the S-C equivalents of the E sentences (131) and (132), S-C has no-*ing* complementizer, and uses instead either the *da*-clause (or the *što*-clause) or a real NP. (For a discussion of S-C real noun equivalents of E gerundive constructions see: Bibović, 1973). The gerundive subjectless construction is subjectivized much more freely than the subjectless infinitive, though less freely if it results from Equi-NP deletion than if it results from the deletion of an unspecified Agent (though its acceptability often depends on the particular lexical verb, as well as on the wider verbal context).

(133)	Pro$_i$ avoided [Pro$_i$ appear on the wharf]	Pro je izbegavao [Pro se pojavi na molu]

The rule of Equi-NP deletion is obligatorily applied to (133) entailing the choice of the -*ing* complementizer with the verb *avoid*.

(134)	Everybody avoided appearing on the wharf.	Svi su izbegavali da se pojavljuju na molu.

By subjectivizing the embedded clause the passive counterpart is obtained.

(135)	Appearing on the wharf was avoided by everybody.	
(136)	They loved walking on the wharf.	Voleli su da šetaju po molu.
(137)	*Walking on the wharf was loved by them.	
(138)	John likes going to the parties.	Džon voli da ide na prijeme.
(139)	*Going to the parties is liked by John.	

(140) John enjoyed going to the parties.	Džon je voleo da ide na prijeme.
(141) Going to the parties was enjoyed by John.	
(142) Hal considered becoming a karate instructor. (Cited from Thompson, 380)	Hal je razmatrao mogućnost da postane instruktor za karate.
(143) Becoming a karate instructor was considered by Hal.	
(144) Sue avoids serving white wine with fish. (Cited from Thompson, 381)	Sju izbegava da služi belo vino sa ribom.
(145) Serving white wine with fish is avoided by Sue.	

In the following examples the gerunds result from the deletion of an unspecified Ag ("uncontrolled reading", see: Thompson, 1973).

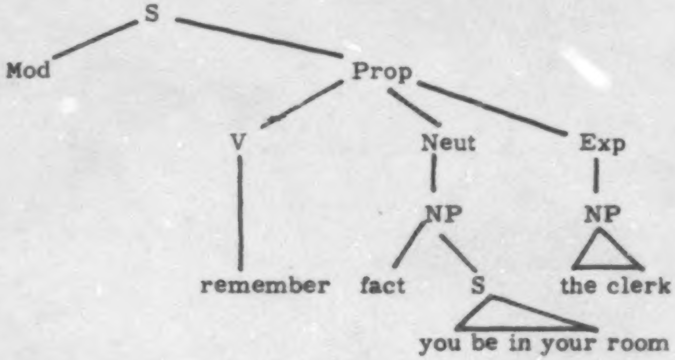
(146) The psychiatrist recommended [Pro get away for a week]	Psihijatar je preporučio [Pro ode negde na nedelju dana]
(147) The psychiatrist recommended getting away for a week. (Cited from Thompson, 380).	Psihijatar je preporučio da se ode negde na nedelju dana.
(148) Getting away for a week was recommended by the psychiatrist.	Od strane psihijatra je preporučeno da se ode negde...
(149) Fred disapproves of opening up trade with Albania. (Cited from Thompson, 380)	Fred ne odobrava da se uspostave trgovački odnosi sa Albanijom (uspostavljanje trgovačkih odnosa...)
(150) Opening up trade with Albania is disapproved of by Fred.	

It should be noted that after prepositions gerunds automatically occur instead of infinitives (the Kiparskys (p. 160) call them "infinitival gerunds"). After two-argument verbs it is not usual to subjectivize such gerunds.

(151) They decided to go to the party. Odlučili su da idu na prijem.
(152) They decided on going to the party.
(153) *Going to the party was decided on by them.
(154) *It was decided by them on going to the party.

The Poss-ing complementizer usually alternates with the *that* complementizer after factive verbs. From the underlying structure in (155),

(155)



an active sentence is obtained if the Exp is subjectivized. The Neut case may show up in the surface as a *that*-clause (according to the Kiparskys this happens if the underlying noun *fact* is deleted),

(156) The clerk will remember that you were in your room. Portir će se setiti da si bila u svojoj sobi.

or it may be reduced to the Poss-ing structure:

(157) The clerk will remember your being in your room.

(According to the Kiparskys, the choice of the Poss-ing complementizer entails a number of transformations, one of the intermediate stages being: *the fact of your being in your room*). If the Neut is subjectivized, a passive sentence is obtained. There are several variants in the passive with factive verbs such as *remember, forget, deplore, regret, ignore, resent, criticize, approve, disapprove, overlook*, etc. If the *that* complementizer is decided upon, the following structures may be generated:

(158)	The fact that you were in your room will be remembered by the clerk.	Portir će se setiti toga da si bila u svojoj sobi.
(159)	That you were in your room will be remembered by the clerk.	Portir će se setiti da si bila u svojoj sobi.
(160)	It will be remembered by the clerk that you were in your room.	
(161)	Your being in your room will be remembered by the clerk.	
(162)	*It will be remembered your being in your room.	

The S-C equivalents of all the variants are not given since the only formal correspondent of the *that* complementizer and the Poss-ing complementizer is *da(što)* introducing a finite clause (and the verb *setiti se*(remember) is not *a* transitive verb in S-C anyway.)

If the verbs *like, dislike, hate, love* and *prefer* take a factive sentential complement which is reducible to a Poss-ing gerundive, there may be a choice between an active or a passive structure depending on whether the Exp or the Neut is promoted to subject function. If the Exp is subjectivized, an active sentence is obtained. The active sentence may show up as a *that*-clause (obligatorily preceded by *it* with this group of verbs and having no passive conterpart),

(163)	They don't like it that he comes here.	Oni ne vole što on dolazi ovamo.
(164)	*It is not liked that he comes here.	?Ne voli se što on dolazi ovamo.

or the sentential complement may be reduced to a Poss-ing gerundive construction.

(165) They don't like his coming here.[31] — Ne vole što on dolazi ovamo.

If the Neut is subjectivized, the passive counterpart of (165) is obtained. In this case the choice of Poss-ing complementizer is obligatory with this group of verbs. (It seems to us that this is the only instance where the Poss-ing in a factive complement is not in free variation with the that complementizer, at least with verbal heads).

(166) His coming here is not liked. (Cited from Pervaz, 1973, 94) — ?(Ne voli se što on dolazi ovamo.)

There are also non-factive predicators that allow the Poss-ing gerundive reduction, but only factive predicates allow the full range of gerundive constructions (see: Kiparsky and Kiparsky). For one thing, only factive gerundial VPs can take the perfect have (exponent of past), though even VPs without have can receive the same interpretation.

(167) Everybody deplored John's dying so young (factive). — Svi su žalili što je Džon umro tako mlad.
(168) Everybody deplored John's having died so young.
(169) John's dying so young was deplored by everybody.
(170) John's having died so young was deplored by everybody.

With non-factive predicates no have referring to the past is allowed, nor is a past interpretation of the Poss-ing gerundive possible.

(171) We advocated his leaving the country. — Zauzimali smo se za to da on ode iz zemlje.
(172) His leaving the country was advocated by us.

It goes without saying that the embedded clause itself may undergo the passive transformation as a result of the subjectivization rule.

(173) Everybody deplored $\underset{\text{Neut}}{\left[\overset{\text{Ag}}{\text{Pro}}\ \text{reject}\ \overset{\text{Neut}}{\text{John}}\right]}$

If the Neut of the embedded clause is subjectivized and the Poss-ing complementizer inserted, the following sentence is generated:

(174) Everybody deplored John's being rejected.	Svi su žalili što je Džon odbijen.

If the embedded Poss-ing clause is subjectivized, the matrix sentence is passivized.

(175) John's being rejected was deplored by everybody.

An underlying structure such as:

Agent
(176) Politicians$_i$ rarely remember [their audiences insult
Neut
Neut
politicians$_i$]

may come to have coreferential subjects in the matrix and the embedded clauses by subjectivizing the noun politicians (the underlying Neut case of the embedded clause). The choice entails the passivization of the embedded verb; the obligatory deletion of the repeated NP in the embedded clause creates conditions for the obligatory insertion of the -ing complementizer, so that the following sentence is derived:

(177) Politicians rarely remember being insulted by their audiences.	Političari se retko sećaju da ih je publika uvredila.

If the embedded clause is subjectivized, then the following passive sentence is obtained:

(178) Being insulted by their audiences is rarely remembered by politicians.

The occurrence or non-occurrence of passive in embedded clauses that contain transitive verbs and the interaction of the choice of complementizer and the passive rules depend on the higher predicate. The consideration of the constraints imposed by the higher predicator on the application of the passive transformation to embedded clauses which have as heads nouns or adjectives, as illustrated by the examples that follow, is well beyond the scope of this paper.

(179)	Her hope that she would be promoted did not materialize.	Nada da će biti unapredjena nije joj se ostvarila.
(180)	Her hope of being promoted did not materialize.	
(181)	His wish to be seen on TV was never fulfilled.	Njegova želja da bude vidjen na televiziji nije se nikada ostvarila.
(182)	His attempt to be televised failed.	Propao mu je pokušaj da bude prikazan na televiziji.
(183)	His fear of being rejected prevented him from applying for the job.	Strah da ne bude odbijen sprečio ga je da konkuriše za to mesto.
(184)	I was surprised at John's being rejected.	Začudila sam se što je Džon odbijen.
(185)	She was afraid of being rejected.	Bojala se da ne bude odbijena.

(See Bibović (1972), who has devoted a whole chapter to the passive rules applying to prepositional gerundial clauses which are complements to adjectives.)

The passive of two-argument verbs taking the For...to complementizer. The *For...to* complementizer is one of the minor patterns with verbal predicators and consequently of little interest to our subject, all the more so as its choice with verbal predicators is always optional.[32] This complementizer is mainly used with Emotive predicators, such as *regret, resent, deplore,* etc.[33] (for discussion of the feature Emotive see Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1970). The *for...to* construction, which alternates with the *that*-clause and the *Poss-ing* clause after these verbs, is the surface realization of the underlying Instrumental case and can be freely subjectivized entailing the passivization of the matrix verb.[34] The S-C equivalent is the *što*-clause (*that*-clause), though S-C need not necessarily use the passive construction where E does.

The *for* complementizer in this construction marks the subject as being in an oblique case and the infinitive is the result of the non-application of the agreement rule. Because such complements are factive, *it* may optionally or obligatorily precede the *for...to* complement.

(186) Everybody regrets (it) for you to be in financial difficulty.	Svi žale što ste u finansijskim neprilikama.
(187) For you to be in financial difficulty was regretted by everybody.	
(188) ? It was regretted (by everybody) for you to be in financial difficulty.	

In the following examples the passive counterpart sounds much better than the active.

(189) ? Everybody deplored it for you to have lost your fortune.	Svi su žalili što ste izgubili imanje.
(190) For you to have lost your fortune was deplored by everybody.	
(191) Everyone resented it for him to have gone to the police.	Svi su se uvredili što je on otišao u policiju.
(192) For him to have gone to the police was resented by...	Svi su bili uvredjeni što je on otišao u policiju.

According to British informants, in British English this complementizer is not as frequent with verbal heads as in American English, except with verbs that normally take the preposition *for* before the direct object (in which case the repeated *for* is deleted). It should be noted that the predicators in the following examples are neither factive nor emotive.

(193) They arranged for me to leave.	Uredili su sve za moj odlazak. Omogućili su da ja otputujem.

(194) ?For me to leave was arranged for.

The embedded clause may undergo the passive transformation.

(195) Everybody waited [Pro elect John]
(196) Everybody waited for John to be elected. — Svi su čekali da Džon bude izabran.
(197) Everybody pleaded [Pro acquit John]
(198) Everybody pleaded for John to be acquitted. — Svi su molili da Džon bude oslobodjen.

Passivization of multiply-embedded clauses. An underlying structure such as the following:[35]

(199) Everybody believes $\underset{\text{Neut}}{\left[\overset{\text{Ag}}{\text{John}}\text{ killed }\overset{\text{Neut}}{\text{Harry}}.\right]}$

may result in quite a number of variant surface forms depending on the kind of rules that are applied. If no rule is applied on the first cycle, and the *that* complementizer is inserted on the second cycle, an active structure is derived.

(200) Everybody believes that John killed Harry.

If the insertion of the *that* complementizer is followed by the subjectivization of the embedded sentence, the matrix verb is passivized.

(201) That John killed Harry is believed by everybody.

Such structures usually undergo the *it*-insertion and extraposition rules, so that (202) is derived.

(202) It is believed (by everybody) that John killed Harry.

If we decide to apply the Subj-rais rule to the underlying form (see note 35.), another passive variant is obtained.

(203) John is believed to have killed Harry.

But the passive transformation may apply to the embedded sentence first if the Neut case of the embedded clause is subjectivized.

(204) Harry was killed by John.

If the that complementizer is inserted on the second cycle, the following structure is obtained:

(205) Everybody believes that Harry was killed by John.

By applying the Obj-rais rule instead of that insertion, we obtain:

(206) Everybody believes Harry to have been killed by John.

If the Subj-rais rule is applied on the second cycle, the following passive sentence is obtained:

(207) Harry is believed to have been killed by John.

What rules are applicable depends on the next higher predicator, the lowest embedded sentence being the first to be tackled.

(208) $_{S_2}[$The soldiers$_i$ avoid $_{S_1}[$the soldiers$_i$ appear on the wharf$]_{S_1}]_{S_2}$

On the first cycle no rules apply. The crucial point on the second cycle is that the Equi-NP deletion rule must apply because the subject of appear is coreferential to the subject of avoid, so that a gerundive construction results, as the verb avoid is marked as taking the -ing complementizer.

(209) The soldiers avoided appearing on the wharf.

Now the embedded -ing clause may be subjectivized, entailing the passivization of the matrix verb.

(210) Appearing on the wharf was avoided by the soldiers.

The following doubly embedded sentence:

(211) $_{S_3}[$The general expected $_{S_2}[$ the soldiers$_i$ avoid $_{S_1}[$ the soldiers$_i$ appear on the wharf$]_{S_1}\,]_{S_2}\,]_{S_3}$

must undergo Equi-NP deletion on the second cycle (as seen above), after which the embedded -ing clause may be subjectivized, entailing the passivization of the verb avoid. If the that complementizer is inserted on the third cycle, the following sentence is derived:

(212) The general expected that appearing on the wharf would be avoided by the soldiers.

If the that complementizer is not inserted, the Subj-rais rule may be applied on the third cycle, entailing the passivization of the verb expect and the infinitivization of the entire verb phrase would be avoided (the verb expect being marked [+Fut] allows the removal of the future auxiliary would), so that the following variant is derived:

(213) Appearing on the wharf was expected (by the general) to be avoided (by the soldiers).

After the application of the Equi-NP deletion rule, which is here obligatory, no other rule need apply on the second cycle, so that Subj-rais may apply on the third cycle, entailing the infinitivization of the verb avoid and the passivization of the verb expect, so that (214) is obtained.

(214) The soldiers were expected (by the general) to avoid appearing on the wharf.

Another possibility would be to subjectivize the that-clause in (212), which would be followed by the it-insertion and extraposition rules, entailing the passivization of the verb expect.

(215) It was expected by the general that appearing on the wharf would be avoided by the soldiers.

The following triply embedded structure:

(216) $[_{S_4}$ They thought $[_{S_3}$ the general expect $[_{S_2}$ the soldiers$_i$ avoid $[_{S_1}$ the soldiers$_i$ appear on the wharf $]_{S_1}$ $]_{S_2}$ $]_{S_3}$ $]_{S_4}$

can, after undergoing the Equi-NP deletion rule, undergo the subjectivization of the -ing clause on the second cycle, which entails the passivization of the verb avoid (the rules which insert proper auxiliaries are neglected altogether).

(217) $[_{S_4}$ They thought $[_{S_3}$ the general expect $[_{S_2}$ appearing on the wharf would be avoided by the soldiers $]_{S_2}$ $]_{S_3}$ $]_{S_4}$

If Subj-rais applies on the third cycle, the verb expect is passivized, and the verb avoid shows up in infinitive form, so that the following structure is obtained:

(218) $[_{S_4}$ They thought $[_{S_3}$ appearing on the wharf was expected by the general to be avoided by the soldiers. $]_{S_3}$ $]_{S_4}$

If the Subj-rais rule is applied on the fourth cycle (entailing the appropriate infinitivizations and passivizations of the verbs), (219) is derived.

(219) Appearing on the wharf was thought to be expected (by the general) to be avoided (by the soldiers).

If, instead of applying the Subj-rais rule on the fourth cycle, we decide to insert the complementizer that, (220) is generated.

(220) They thought that appearing on the wharf was expected (by the general) to be avoided by the soldiers.

The rule of *that* insertion on the fourth cycle may be followed by the subjectivization of the *that*-clause, which creates conditions for the passivization of the verb *think*, in which case the *it*- insertion and extraposition rules apply, so that the following sentence is obtained:

(221) It was thought that appearing on the wharf was expected (by the general) to be avoided by the soldiers.

The quadruply-embedded sentence:

(222) $[_{S_5}$ They said $[_{S_4}$ they think $[_{S_3}$ the general expect $[_{S_2}$ the soldiers$_i$
avoid $[_{S_1}$ the soldiers$_i$ appear on the wharf $]_{S_1}\ ]_{S_2}\ ]_{S_3}\ ]_{S_4}\ ]_{S_5}$

can have quite a number of variants depending on the rules applied on the appropriate cycles, the rule of Equi-NP deletion on the second cycle being the only obligatory rule. If the *-ing* clause is subjectivized on the second cycle, and the Subj-rais rule applied on the third cycle, then on the fourth and the fifth cycles (followed by appropriate transformations entailed by the applied rules), the following structure is derived:

(223) Appearing on the wharf was said to be thought to be expected (by the general) to be avoided by the soldiers.

Or there may be no Subj-rais on the fifth cycle, but the *that* complementizer may be inserted after the verb *think*, followed by subjectivization of the *that*-clause, *it*-insertion, and extraposition, involving the passivization of the verb *think*, so that the variant (224) is obtained.

(224) It was said that appearing on the wharf was thought to be expected (by the general) to be avoided by the soldiers.

And so we can go on embedding indefinitely and applying the rules of Equi-NP deletion - Raising - Passive, etc., the choices offered depending on the next higher verb. If all the possibilities were to be exhausted, a very large number of surface variants could be generated. In addition to (223), the application of the Subj-rais rule at a different point in the derivation can result in:

(225) The soldiers were said to be thought to be expected (by the general) to avoid appearing on the wharf.
(226) The general was said to be thought to expect the soldiers to avoid appearing on the wharf.

S-C does not have such a variety of choices as E does, firstly, owing to the fact that Equi-NP deletion is applied non-obligatorily and after a limited number of verbs; secondly, the Subj-rais and the Obj-rais rules being, with a few exceptions, non-existent, no collapsing of finite clauses into truncated structures can be obtained that way. It is true that Object-to-Subject raising occurs out of an embedded into a higher clause, involving the passivization of the higher verb, but verbs allowing the application of this rule are limited in number. Thirdly, S-C has no Poss-ing (-ing) complementizer. On the other hand, the structure of S-C allows the deletion of repeated subject NPs after the agreement rule has applied, which E does not, so that the embedded structures need not be as unwieldy as they would be if this were not the case. When tackling the following underlying form:

(227) $[_{S_6}$ Pro$_1$ govori $[_{S_5}$ Pro$_2$ misli $[_{S_4}$ general očekuje $[_{S_3}$ vojnici$_i$ će
$[_{S_2}$ vojnici$_i$ izbegava - $[_{S_1}$ vojnici$_i$ se pojavljuju na
molu $]_{S_1}$ $]_{S_2}$ $]_{S_3}$ $]_{S_4}$ $]_{S_5}$ $]_{S_6}$

the crucial point is that the complementizer da must be chosen before all the embedded clauses (with one exception, where it is optional) irrespective of whether the passive rule is applied or not. On the third cycle there is a choice between the da-clause and the infinitive (resulting from the application of the Equi-NP deletion rule).

(228) Vojnici će da izbegavaju
(228a) Vojnici će izbegavati

Though all sentences containing transitive verbs can theoretically undergo the passive transformation, it is not possible to passivize all the transitive verbs in (227). It would be possible for all the clauses containing a transitive verb in (227) to undergo the passive transformation if S_2, S_3 and S_4 had unspecified agents, which are deletable in the passive. As the agents general (the general) and vojnici (the soldiers) cannot be deleted owing to the fact that important information would be lost, they would have to be turned into agential phrases in the passive. But S-C avoids such structures, so that only S_5 and S_6 will undergo the passive transformation.

(229) Govori se da se misli da general očekuje da će vojnici izbegavati da se pojavljuju na molu. (It is said that it is thought that the general expects that the soldiers will avoid that (they) appear on the wharf.)

Here is an example of a doubly-embedded sentence which satisfies the conditions for the application of the passive rule to all the three sentences:

(230) $[_{S_3}\text{Pro}_1$ je rekao $[_{S_2}\text{Pro}_2$ $\underset{\text{Neut}}{\text{očekuje}}$ $[_{S_1}\overset{\text{Ag}}{\text{Pro}_3}$ $\underset{\text{Neut}}{\text{upiše}}$ $\overset{\text{Neut}}{\text{isti broj}}$
studenata kao i prošle godine$]_{S_1}]_{S_2}]_{S_3}$

($[_{S_3}\text{Pro}_1$ said $[_{S_2}\text{Pro}_2$ expect $[_{S_1}\text{Pro}_3$ enroll the same
number of students as last year$]_{S_1}]_{S_2}]_{S_3}$)

On the first cycle the NP isti broj studenata (the same number of students), which is the surface realization of the Neut case, is subjectivized entailing the deletion of the unspecified agent and the passivization of the verb upiše (enroll). On the second cycle the da complementizer is inserted before the embedded clause: S_1, which is the surface realization of the Neut case, is subjectivized, entailing the deletion of the unspecified agent (Pro_2) and the passivization of the verb očekuje(expect). The same rules are applied on the third cycle, so that the following structure is obtained (many details have been omitted, among others the choice of the auxiliary in S_1):

(231) Rečeno je da se očekuje da bude upisan isti broj studenata kao i prošle godine.

Concluding remarks. In this paper we have tried to contrast the grammatical structures of passive sentences in E and S-C, but we are well aware that certain points of interest have barely been touched upon and that others have been completely neglected. Since the passive transformation cannot be dealt with without considering, among other phenomena, the complex field of complement structures, we have necessarily been obliged to include them into our study. But covering all the details and complexities of the interplay of complement choices and the rule of subjectivization in passive sentences would be a nearly impossible task, which would entail the writing of grammars for nearly every particular verb. We have highlighted the grammatical rules which are pertinent to the passive transformation in the two languages, but we are more than aware that that is only half of the story. The other half will have to deal with motivations for choosing the passive in preference to the active. The choice is made on the level of discourse, but is constrained by the different grammatical structures of the two languages. The sentence level, to which we are compelled to adhere at the present stage of development of grammar, has the disadvantage of narrowing the field. No mechanism has been developed for treating discourse grammar formally, and the study of the motivations for the use of passive in preference to active structures involves so much more than the mere rules developed within sentence boundaries. The choice is never a hundred per cent predictable and often depends on non-linguistic phenomena, which escape strict formalization. To be of real practical use the whole picture would have to include the study of the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic factors, and the study of non-linguistic factors requires a different approach from the one adopted in this paper. We hope to take it up in a future contribution.

NOTES

1. Verbs of psychological reaction require special treatment both in E and S-C.

His behaviour surprised me.	Njegovo me je ponašanje začudilo.
I was surprised at his behaviour.	Začudila sam se njegovom ponašanju.
I was surprised by his behaviour.	Bila sam začudjena njegovim ponašanjem.
His behaviour was surprising to me.	
That he couldn't come worried me.	Brinulo me je što ne može da dodje.
I was worried that he couldn't come.	Bila sam zabrinuta što ne može da dodje.
I was worried by the fact that he couldn't come.	Brinulo me je to što ne može da dodje.
I was worried because he couldn't come.	Bila sam zabrinuta (zato) što ne može da dodje.

As can be seen from the above examples, the difference between active passive and middle voice and the adjectival use of the passive participle is not clear cut and would require special study, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

2. As predicate complement constructions in E and S-C have been the subject of special study in this Project (see: Pervaz, 1971, and Pervaz, 1973), we shall deal with this matter only to the extent that it is of immediate relevance to the passive transformation. Therefore we shall not consider wh-clauses and their S-C equivalents which are surface realizations of the Neut case, as they are not of any immediate relevance to the passive transformation. The full-fledged wh-clauses and their reduced forms as realizations of the underlying Neut case do not present us with any interesting problems with three-argument verbs,

as the real NP following the verb is subjectivized.

They told Mary what she should do (what to do). →	Rekli su Mariji šta treba da uradi (šta da uradi). →
Mary was told what she should do (what to do).	Mariji je rečeno šta treba da uradi (šta da uradi).

Some overlap with previous work is unavoidable, though.

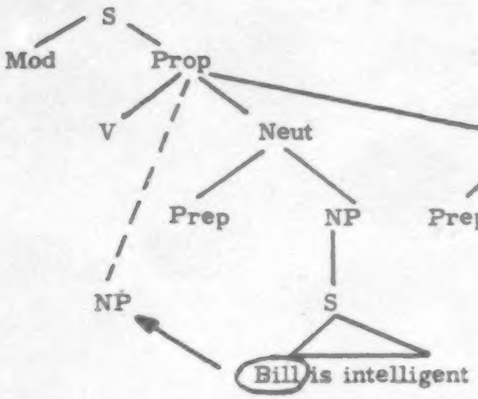
3. A representative, though not exhaustive, list of these verbs is to be found in Rosenbaum (1967, 120-121.)

4. Instrument here is taken in a broad sense including the meaning of source and cause.

5. According to Rosenbaum (1967) the expletive it is generated in the underlying structure next to the clause under the node NP as pronominal head of the complement. Rosenbaum's proposal for the source of it has been disputed and rejected by those not following strictly the standard theory. We shall not take sides on this theoretical issue and the fact that we speak of an it-insertion rule is more a matter of convenience than of conviction.

6. The S-C equivalent has two da- clauses where E has infinitive constructions. The conditions for the infinitivization rule in S-C will be dealt with further in this paper.

7. Stockwell et al. (1973, 532) represent the rules of Obj-raising and Subj-raising as two steps of the same rule with transitive verbs, Obj-raising being an optional rule which raises the subject of an embedded sentence into object position of the matrix sentence, so that the Subject Placement rule can move this object into the subject position of the passive sentence. The diagrams representing the two steps from Stockwell et al. follow (we have only substituted the label Exp for the label Dat in the original diagrams in order to avoid misunderstanding).
It seems to us that there is more reason to treat the Obj-raising rule and the Subj-raising rule as two separate rules than to treat them as Stockwell et al. do. Firstly,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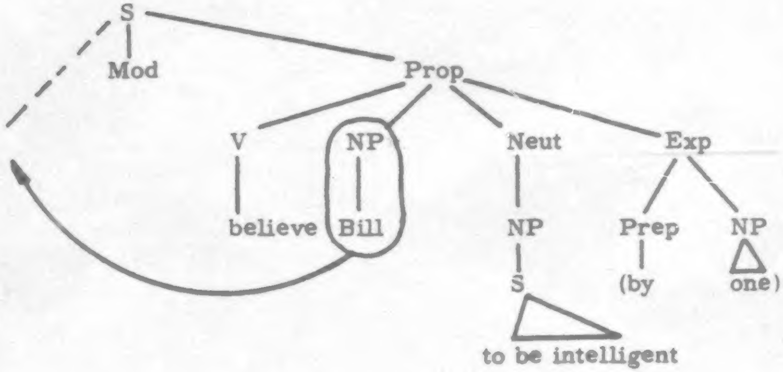
Bill is intelligent

"One believes Bill to be intelligent."


S
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S
(by
one)
to be intelligent

"Bill is believed to be intelligent."

the Subj-raising rule applies both to transitive and intransitive non-factive verbs (Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1970, 144) and some generality would be lost if we were to treat Subj-rais as two separate rules with the two classes of verbs. Secondly, transitive verbs such as *say, rumour, repute, ascertain* undergo Subj-rais, but do not undergo Obj-rais, so that they would have to pass through an ungrammatical intermediate stage in order to be passivized. And last but not least, there is a group of semantically related verbs (like, dislike, love, hate, etc.) which undergo Obj-rais but do not undergo Subj-rais (this argument will be taken up later on). (For other arguments presented in favour of this view see Szamosi, 1973.)

8. French has the same constraint on the operation of Raising out of object complements (see Szamosi, 1973, 653).

9. In my idiolect the instrumental is not acceptable after the verbs *odrediti*(appoint) and *priznati*(recognize):

Odredili su da *on* bude staratelj deci.	They appointed him as the children's guardian.
Odredili su *ga* za staratelja deci.	
On je odredjen za staratelja...	He has been appointed as the children's guardian.-
*Odredili su ga starateljem(instr)	
*On je odredjen starateljem ...	

10. It goes without saying that the *za+NP* in the following examples is not derived in the same way, as it seems to come from a reduced purpose clause:

Unapredili su ga *za generala*.	They promoted him to the rank of general.
Učim *za lekara*.	I am studying to be a doctor.

11. If the V^{se} passive is used in sentences such as (37), the sentence may be ambiguous between the passive and the

reflexive interpretation.

Jovan$_i$ je smatrao da je (on$_i$) nevin.	John thought that he was innocent.

When the pronoun on(he), which is coreferential with the subject NP of the matrix sentence is raised into the higher sentence it gets reflexivized:

Jovan je smatrao sebe nevinim.	John considered himself to be innocent.

When the non-emphatic(enclitic) form of the reflexive pronoun is used it gets moved to after the first element in the sentence:

Jovan se smatrao nevinim.	John considered himself to be innocent.

so that the sentence is homophonous with the passive sentence which has the following derivation:

Ljudi su smatrali [Jovan (je) nevin].	People thought [John (be) innocent].

By applying the rule of Subj-raising Jovan (John) is made the subject of the higher sentence entailing the passivization of the matrix verb, the copula in the embedded clause is deleted and the instrumental inflection added to the adjective nevin (innocent).

Jovan se smatrao nevinim.	John was thought to be innocent.

(See: Milošević (1972) and Milošević (1973) for more examples and a more systematic elucidation of this phenomenon in S-C). The verb osećati (feel), if it has coreferential subjects in the matrix and the embedded sentences, can undergo a similar process:

On$_i$ je osećao da je (on$_i$) kriv. On$_i$ se osećao krivim.	He felt that he was guilty. He felt himself to be quilty.

That the complement with the verb "osećati" is a different construction than with the verbs "smatrati", "proglasiti", etc. is borne out by the fact that the reflexive behaves differently in sentences with the predicator "osećati".

*On je osećao sebe krivim.	(=He felt himself guilty)
On je smatrao sebe krivim.	(=He thought himself guilty)

If the verb accepts sebe, besides the enclitic form se, it can also accept other kinds of objects, in which case we are dealing with true objects of transitive verbs, and these can be passivized.

12. We do not propose to discuss again whether the existential there is generated in the underlying structure or whether it is introduced transformationally by applying the rule of there-insertion, nor do we propose to go into the question whether Bresnan (1970, footnote 11, 306) is right in stating that there-insertion follows the passive transformation. But we agree with Shopen's (1972, footnote 19, 323) remark that there are countless places in the literature mentioning the there-insertion rule, but never properly justifying it. Our hypothesis (see: Mihailović, 1972) that existential there is generated at a very abstract level with every noun which has in its structural index [-definite, + referential] may not seem unacceptable in view of the examples, such as the following:

    *A concert is at eight o'clock.
    *Central heating is in the house.
    *A wart is on his nose.
    Five people were said to be in the house,..?.....?
    There were said to be five people in the house, weren't there?

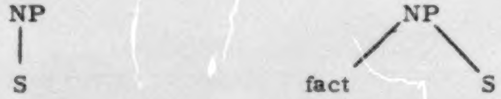
13. For a discussion of the semantic feature fact and its implications for syntax see: Kiparsky (1970) and Bibović (1971).

14. It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with all the conditions for the acceptability of that-clauses after this

group of verbs, but we should like to adduce a few examples in order to show that sentential complements after this group of verbs present special problems (to some of which we shall return later).

*I wish that my wife should wear simple clothes.	
I wish my wife to wear simple clothes.	Želim da moja žena nosi jednostavnu odeću.
I wish that my wife would wear simple clothes (contrary to fact).	Voleo bih kad bi moja žena nosila jednostavnu odeću.
*I want that somebody should type this letter as soon as possible.	Hoću da neko ovo pismo otkuca što pre.
I want somebody to type this letter as soon as possible.	
I want this letter (to be) typed as soon as possible.	Hoću da se ovo pismo što pre otkuca.

15. The *that*-clause in (79) must be preceded by *it*, which happens with *all* the verbs of this group if they take factive complements. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970, 165), who represent the difference between the factive and non-factive complements in the underlying structure in the following way:



non-factive factive

say that the pronoun *it* in this way serves as an optional reduction of the noun *fact* and that it should be distinguished from the expletive *it*, which is automatically introduced in the place of the extraposed complements. We are not sure that this is correct in view of the following example:

I like it when people come to see me.	Volim kad mi se dodje u posetu.

Here the *when*-clause does not seem to be factive, since we cannot conclude that people really do come to see me.

16. Of course, all these clauses might be interpreted as NP-headed phrases having *fact*, *circumstance* or some such noun as head, in which case these verbs would not qualify as taking several sentences as complements. We do not think that there is enough evidence yet to make a decision either way.

17. The chief exception in E seems to be *in that*, "they differ *in that* he is generous and she miserly" (cited from Jespersen, 1968, 32).

18. Considering that *fact* is not the only noun appearing in factive complements and that it behaves like an ordinary noun: *the simple fact that*, *the well-known fact*, etc. suggests that it is perhaps not felicitous to have it appear in deep structure, though factive complements should be somehow marked as factive.

19. We do not feel quite comfortable with the S-C passive version of this sentence, though we have tried it out on many S-C native speakers, who say that it is an acceptable sentence. It seems to us that the active sentence:

    To što su mu ruke bile krvave dokazalo je da je kriv.

    has two underlying participant cases (Neut and Ins), whereas the passive version is interpretable as having the Ag as well, as if there is a suppressed human agent making use of the fact that the culprit has blood on his hands to prove his guilt. Native speakers of English tell us that they do not necessarily attach the same interpretation to the E version:

    That he was quilty was proved by the fact that he had blood on his hands.

    It may be the case that the surface neutralization of the underlying Ag and Ins in the by+NP phrase, thus excluding the addition of another by+NP phrase (even when an underlying Ins turns up as an "agent" in the passive), does not suggest the existence of a suppressed Agent. In S-C there is no surface neutralization of the underlying Ag and Ins, so that the instrumental phrase in the passive suggests the existence of a human agent much more explicitly than the E by+NP phrase does. It goes without saying that the following sentence is interpretable only as personal, as the expletive *it* is used only in passive sentences that have a human agent (underlying Ag or Exp):

> It will be proved by the following experiment that the hypothesis is correct.

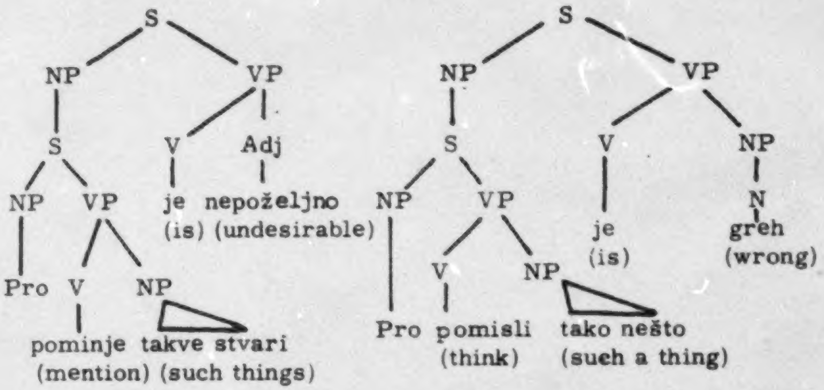
though the human agent must remain unexpressed owing to the presence of another by+NP phrase standing for an underlying Ins. In the active in such sentences the by+NP phrase must be modified by using the gerundial form of some such verb as *use* or some such phrase as *by means of* or *with the help of*

> They will prove that the hypothesis is correct by means of the following experiment.

20. This condition need not necessarily hold with non-verbal predicates with which the infinitive may, like in E, derive from the deletion of an unspecified Agent. With Emotive predicative adjectives and nouns the embedded S in Subject function having an unspecified Agent can be either passivized or infinitivized.

Nepoželjno je da se takve stvari pominju.	It is undesirable that such things (should) be mentioned.
Nepoželjno je takve stvari pominjati.	It is undesirable to mention such things.
Greh je da se tako nešto i pomisli.	*It's wrong that such a thing even be thought(of).
Greh je tako nešto i pomisliti.	It's wrong even to think of such a thing.

The examples quoted are derived from the following underlying structures: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(is)
(wrong)
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pomisli
tako nešto
(think)
(such a thing)

21. There are two verbs in S-C, *pomoći*(help) and *naučiti*(teach) after which Equi-NP deletion between the matrix object and the embedded subject may apply optionally. See: Perlmutter (1971, fn. 8, 9) and Pervaz (1973, 84).

22. The complementizer *što*(that) does not alternate with the infinitive complementizer, as it introduces factive complements, which do not allow infinitival reduction.

23. This may not be significant information, as there are other transitive verbs (at least in my idiolect) with this idiosyncratic property, such as *čuti*(hear), *razumeti*(understand), *misliti* (think), and some others.

24. The infinitive complementizer is used much more freely and more frequently in the western variant of S-C, though we would not agree with Bugarski's (1971, 185) statement that "there are apparently two grammars, not one, governing the distribution of the two complementizers (=*da*- and the infinitival), since the infinitival one is restricted, roughly speaking, to the western dialects." All that we can say with certainty is that in the eastern variant the infinitival complementizer is more usual after certain lexical choices,

the verbs moći, hteti, and morati being the examples at hand.

Mora se priznati da je ova presuda pravedna.	It must be admitted that this sentence is just.
To se ne može zamisliti.	One can't imagine that. Such a thing is unthinkable.
Možeš li mi pomoći?	Can you help me?

In order to avoid giving a false impression, we also quote examples of some other verbs followed by the infinitival complementizer which are acceptable sentences in all the dialects of S-C.

Više volim ići bos nego nositi tesne cipele.	I prefer to walk barefoot rather than to wear tight shoes.
Zaboravio sam ti reći da je on dolazio.	I forgot to tell you that he had been here.

25. The subjectivized NP need not necessarily be moved into initial position in the sentence as in E, since the nominative inflection ensures the correct interpretation of its subject function in the sentence.

26. The eastern variant has only one subjectivization rule here, whereas the western has two. In the western variant the object NP of the embedded clause need not be subjectivized, it may keep its accusative inflection, so that the matrix verb in the passive has 3rd. pers. sing. neut. concord, which is usual with clausal subjects.

Mi bismo mogli (1st pers. pl.) naći drugog čovjeka (sing. masc. acc.)	We could find another man.
Moglo (3rd. pers. sing. neut.) bi se naći nekog drugog čovjeka (sing. masc. acc.)	Another man could be found.

The eastern variant does not accept such structures as it must raise the object NP of the embedded clause into subject function of the matrix sentence, entailing all the necessary inflectional changes in the NP and the matrix verb.

> Mogao (sing. masc.) bi se naći neki drugi čovjek(sing. masc. nom.).

The subjectivized NP can also be moved into initial position:

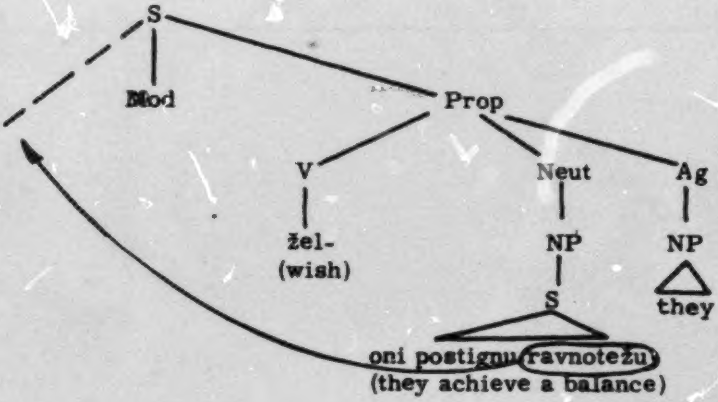
Neki drugi čovjek bi se mogao naći.	Another man could be found.

so that the word order is the same as in the E equivalent.

27. If the embedded verb is reduced to infinitive form, the infinitive may be either active or passive without change of meaning(examples (118) and (118a)).

28. This, of course, should not be confused with subject selection in a simple sentence,where the promotion of a Goal or Neut over the Ag (or Exp) to subject function entails the passivization of the V. Here we do not speak of raising, as raising occurs only out of an embedded clause into the higher sentence, that is with complex sentences.

29. A somewhat simplified underlying structure (it has already undergone a number of transformations) is:



30. Those gerundive phrases that have the internal structure of NPs will not be considered here, as they behave, as far as the passive transformation is concerned, like any other NP.

Everybody detested loud singing.	Svi su mrzeli glasno pevanje.
Loud singing was detested by everybody.	
They detested singing loudly.	Mrzeli su da pevaju glasno.
*Singing loudly was detested by them.	

For the structural differences between gerunds having the internal structure of NPs and sentential gerunds see: Wasow and Roeper (1972, 45-46).

31. This structure should not be confused with:

They don't like him coming here.	Ne vole da on dolazi ovamo.

which is the result of the application of the Obj-raising rule, *coming* (an infinitival gerund) alternating with the infinitive *to come* with this group of verbs. The complement is not factive: in a factive complement there is neither raising of elements nor reduction of the verb to an infinitival complement. As mentioned earlier in this paper, this group of verbs does not undergo the Subj-raising rule, and this accounts for the non-existence of passive sentences, such as:

*He is not liked coming here.

32. We are not dealing here with Rosenbaum's hypothetical *for...to* complementizer, which is supposed to underlie structures such as:

I believe John to have convinced Bill.

As can be seen from our previous discussion, we did not need the introduction of for into the underlying structure of such sentences in order to generate the infinitive and then, once the infinitive is generated remove the for by means of an obligatory complementizer deletion rule. We shall deal here only with the for...to complementizer which shows up in the surface.

33. Stockwell et al. mark these verbs as appearing in the case frame [_____ +Neut +Dat -Loc -Ins -Ag]. It seems to us that since these verbs are emotive and factive, the factive complement is a surface realization of an abstract Instrumental case, which is to be interpreted as the source or cause of the emotion produced in the Experiencer.

34. The for...to complementizer after the verbs love, like, dislike, prefer is not relevant for our discussion as the for...to clause is not subjectivized in the passive with these verbs. The following examples are cited from Rosenbaum (1967, 66-69).

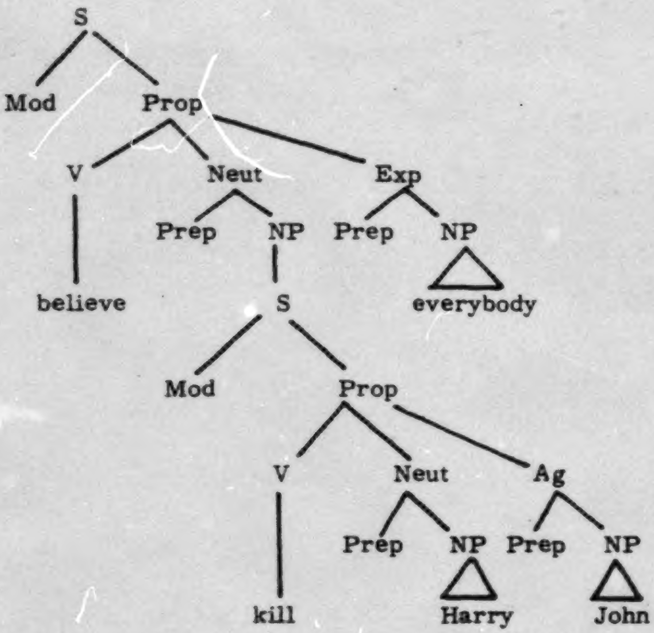
I hate for you to do these things
*for you to do these things is hated
everybody loves for you to sing
*for you to sing is loved by everybody
everybody dislikes for you to sing
*for you to sing is disliked by everybody

The verb prefer seems to be idiosyncratic in that it allows the subjectivization of the for...to structure, just as it does the infinitive.
In the active the for...to clause is possible in subject function.

For her to sing would surprise everybody.

35. This, of course, is not the deep structure, but one of the intermediate structures which has already undergone a number of transformations. A more accurate picture of a deep structure (although even this could be made "deeper",

i.e. more abstract) would be:


S
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everybody
Mod
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Prep
NP
Prep
NP
kill
Harry
John

The Subj-rais and Obj-rais rules apply to this underlying form. The form given in our example:

> Everybody believes [John killed Harry].

is a half-finished product, in which Subject Placement has already taken place in both the matrix and embedded clauses, We have deliberately chosen this shortcut: to give the full range of transformations would be too involved and not much would be gained from the point of view of this study.

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DIFFERENCES IN THE SURFACE STRUCTURE REALIZATIONS OF STATIVE LOCATIVE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

If we assume that languages are similar at the level of semantico-logical representation, then we have to account for the wide range of differences in the surface structure of various languages. Apart from the phonological and lexical differences, which are obvious, what makes languages different is the result of the application of different transformational rules to the underlying universal base (see Anderson 1971). Once these facts are established it seems that our main task consists in dealing with the transformational rules in particular languages and the constraints that various grammatical and semantic features impose on the application of particular rules. The task we have set ourselves in this paper is to demonstrate the differences in the constraints on the application of the transformational rules to underlying stative locative clauses in E and S-C, and to show how these constraints are correlated to the semantic features in the two languages.

Languages differ, among other things, with respect to which conceptual features of the world we live in they grammaticalize. And no language grammaticalizes all of them. A theoretical issue is involved here. Is it possible to be aware of all the conceptualizations of the world we live in, and, if it were, should they all be introduced into the base structures which are to be regarded as universal? We are usually aware of those conceptualizations which our language grammaticalizes (the easiest to notice are those features which have correlates on the morphological level of grammatical structure). Evidence from many languages is necessary to obtain an overall view of the possible conceptualizations of the world we live in. We shall leave open the question of how the base structure should deal with this problem. Anderson (1971), though in two minds concerning this problem, hypothesizes that the status of many semantic features is doubtful unless we assume that "certain distinctions are regarded as merely not being 'utilized' in some languages" or unless we assume that "languages may be different with respect to how they divide up minimal semantic fields" (14-15).

It is a well known fact that the concepts of alienable/inalienable possession have in many languages reflections on the morphological level of grammatical structure, i.e. distinct morphemes exist which mark nouns as inseparable in the relation whole/part (see Fillmore 1968 and the references cited therein). But the fact that there are many more languages that do not mark these distinctions with special morphemes than those that do is no proof that the distinction is not marked in some subtler fashion as yet undiscovered by grammarians. We shall give evidence from both E and S-C of one such subtle distinction which is reflected differently in the syntactic structures of the two languages.

It has been widely accepted that, probably in all languages, existential, possessive and locative sentences are related, their common source being locative predications.[1] In consequence it has been assumed that sentences such as the following are related:

(1) There is central heating in the house. U kući ima centralno grejanje.

(2) The house has central heating. Kuća ima centralno grejanje.

(3') Ona ima crne oči. She has dark eyes.

(3'') U nje su crne oči. (=At her are dark eyes)

In the underlying representation of these sentences there is a locative and a nominative (nominative not as a morphologically marked case, but as defined in Anderson 1971).[2] Example (3) has in fact a source in two locative clauses, which is irrelevant for the subject at hand. These predications with two participant roles differ with respect to which of the two roles (cases) is subjectivized. It has been assumed that the choice of the case role to be subjectivized is determined by considerations involving the "functional sentence perspective", i.e. the distribution of the thematic and the rhematic elements in the sentence.[3] There is evidence both diachronic and synchronic that the verb *have*, which is of relatively recent origin in IE languages, and which many other languages lack (Benveniste 1960) serves as a means of subjectivizing the locative, thus bringing it into initial position. We shall try to demonstrate that the choice between the structures with *be* and *have* is not determined solely by considerations of the distribution of thematic and rhematic elements (which are functions of the discourse level), but that it is in many cases correlated to semantic features and that one structure may be used to the exclusion of the other. Examples (1) and (2) are in a paraphrase relation and the locative in the English example (2) is moved to initial position owing to the fact that it has been subjectivized. The subjectivization of the locative involves the use of the verb *have* as predicate.[4] But it is of interest to note that in S-C the unmarked word order requires the locative to be in initial position irrespective of whether it has been subjectivized or not. So that the choice between the verbs *have* (imati), *be* (biti) and the "existential *ima*" could not be accounted for by considerations of functional sentence perspective and for that matter we do not believe that it is determined solely by these considerations in E either, as will be seen from examples that will follow. Existential, possessive and locative sentences have a common underlying structure at a very abstract level where the number of case roles and their semantic functions are marked.[5] Consider the following examples:

(4) There is a TV in the car.	U kolima ima televizor.
(5) The car has a TV.	Kola imaju televizor.
(6) The car has a TV in it.	U kolima ima jedan televizor.
(7) A TV was in the car.	Jedan televizor je bio u kolima.

All these sentences are derived from a stative locative clause (as mentioned above, such clauses have two underlying cases: nominative and locative), but they are not synonymous in all of their interpretations. In both E and S-C example (4) has at least two interpretations: (a) the car may have a TV set as part of its equipment (a built-in set), or (b) there may be a TV set carried in the car, just as a suitcase is. This latter meaning will be referred to as "availability". Sentence (5) allows only one interpretation in both languages. The car has a TV set as an integral part of the car, namely it has a built in TV set. So that (5) is in a paraphrase relation with (4) only in its (a) interpretation. Example (6) in English has only the meaning of availability, so that it is synonymous with (4) only under the interpretation (b). In consequence the meanings of (5) and (6) are distinct. The S-C equivalent of (6) has no distinct form for this meaning and is the same as (4). Example (7) is in a paraphrase relation with (4) in its interpretation (b) (availability) both in E and S-C. As can be seen, example (4) is the unmarked form.

Example (6) is of special interest both from the point of view of English and from a contrastive point of view. One of the postulates of case grammar is that a simple sentence can have only one underlying semantic function (case) of the same type. In example (6) (*The car has a TV in it*), which is a simple sentence, there are two realizations of the same underlying case, locative, in the surface structure, the second locative (*in it*) being a pronominalized copy of the subjectivized locative.[6] Anderson (1971, 1972 and 1973a) speaks about the locative copying rule, adducing examples such as:

(8) The chair has a book on it.

(9) The wall has a slogan on it.

(lo) My soup has a fly in it.[7]

and stating that in stative locative clauses "the locative may or may not be subjectivized, and if it is, there may be in certain circumstances 'copying' of the subjectivized locative....Only certain verbs (like *contain*) appear in clauses containing subjectivized locatives if no 'copying' has taken place" (Anderson 1971, 117-118). No explicit rule is given which accounts for "certain circumstances" under which the copying rule occurs. Though locative copies of the subjectivized locatives are obligatory in the examples such as:

(11) The lemonade has a fly in it.

(12) The chair has a book on it.[8]

the locative copy would probably be unacceptable in the following sentences (at least when they are affirmative):

(13) *The house has central heating in it.

(14) *The building has a roof on it.

This constraint is correlated to the semantic features alienable/inalienable or rather their extention: integral part/non-integral part. (We noted this phenomenon in passing in Mihailović 1972, but we did not at that time have enough evidence to formulate the rule.) In locative sentences where the part in the relation whole/part is an NP which has as referent an object that is considered as an integral part of the locative NP referent, no locative copy is allowed in the *have* sentence, as can be seen from examples (13) and (14). On the other hand if the referent of the NP standing for the part (the underlying nominative) is an extraneous object with respect to the NP referent of the locative, then the pronominalized copy of the subjectivized locative is obligatorily present in the clause.

(15) *The chair has a book.

(16) *The lemonade has a fly.

In S-C the locative which has the feature inanimate can be subjectivized in a *have* clause only if the semantic case element nominative is marked as integral part.

(17) Kuća ima centralno grejanje.	The house has central heating.
(18) Soba ima tri prozora.	The room has three windows.
(19) Auto ima televizor.	The car has a TV.

Locative clauses in which the referent of the nominative NP is an object extraneous to the referent of the locative NP do not allow the subjectivization of the semantic locative in a *have* clause, ~~and~~ consequently there does not arise the condition for the application of the locative copying rule (this applies only to locatives the referents of which have the feature inanimate).

(2o) *Limunada ima muvu (=*The lemonade has a fly).

(21) *Stolica ima knjigu (=*The chair has a book).

In S-C such relations can be realized only in sentences with the existential *ima* (a non-concord form which is isomorphic with the verb *imati* (have) and diachronically related to it).

(22) U limunadi ima muva.	There is a fly in the lemonade.
(23) Na stolici ima knjiga.	There is a book on the chair.

Such structures (the so-called existential sentences) neither in SC nor in E are susceptible to the distinction integral part/non-integral part and can be considered as unmarked forms.

As can be seen from the S-C examples (22) and (23) S-C existential sentences have the locative phrase in initial position and therefore they have not developed an expletive word corresponding to the English *there*. The existential *there* in E has a definite function as it represents a special option in the distribution of theme-rheme, the initial position being usually reserved for unmarked themes, such as definitely determined noun phrases and pronouns, which tie up with the previous context (See Mihailović 1972, 87-88 for a more exhaustive treatment of this phenomenon). Therefore it is an established fact that it is unusual to find indefinitely defined referential NPs in initial position, existential *there* being the usual device for avoiding their appearance in that position. In spite of what we have just stated sentences such as:

(24) A towel was on the floor.	Na podu je bio jedan peškir.
(25) A fly was in the lemonade.	U limunadi je bila jedna muva.

are quite acceptable in appropriate contexts,[9] whereas others such as:

(26) *Central heating was in the house.

(27) *Running water was in the room.

(28) *A red façade was on the house.

are rejected out of hand. It seems to us that the acceptability of such sentences could be correlated to the semantic features we have been dealing with above, namely the features integral/non-integral part. We assume that the indefinitely modified NPs in such examples as (24) and (25) create a feeling of unexpectedness, as a towel does not belong on the floor, nor does a fly in the lemonade. On the other hand *central heating*, *running water* and a *façade* are integral parts of the referents of the respective locative NPs and carry with them no element of unexpectedness. There is a reflection of these semantic considerations in the grammatical structure of E. An indefinitely modified N is acceptable in the initial position of an existential sentence, under the condition that the referent of the nominative N must not be an integral part of the referent of the locative N, so that the condition for creating surprise is satisfied. But if the referent of the nominative N is an integral part of the referent of the locative N, the requirement of unexpectedness (i.e. surprise) is not satisfied, so that such indefinitely modified NPs are rejected in initial position. How and where these semantic features should be introduced in the underlying structure of the locative clauses we have been dealing with has yet to be decided, but we have given evidence both from E and S-C to show how these features affect the application of transformational rules and to what extent the surface realizations of the underlying stative locative clauses depend on them.

So far our locatives have had the feature inanimate. Let us find out whether the same semantic considerations affect the surface structure form of those locative clauses in which the locative NP is marked as animate. Both in E and S-C in the relation whole/part where the part is an inalienable object (such as parts of the body or inborn or acquired qualities) the animate locative NP can be subjectivized in a *have* clause.

(29) He has dark eyes. On ima crne oči.

In instances where the part is inalienable there is no ambiguity (we ignore the fact that sentence (29) has a source in two locative predications). But possessions are not always inseparable, so the sentences of the following type are ambiguous in at least two ways.

(3o) I have the keys of the flat. Imam ključeve od stana.

may mean that I have the keys of the flat among my possessions, or it may mean that I have them with me, that they are available. Of course, the sentence may be disambiguated if we add a locative phrase such as *on me/with me* (kod sebe), or the extralinguistic context may make the meaning clear. In S-C there is a locative sentence which is unambiguous, as the locative turns up in a locative phrase:

(31) U mene su ključevi od stana (=At me (Gen) are the keys of the flat).

With articles of clothing, the locative copy is usually present in E, namely the locative preposition, while the pronominal copy is obligatorily deleted. In S-C the locative copy is not obligatory.

(32) She had a red dress on. Imala je (na sebi) crvenu haljinu.

As can be seen from the S-C equivalent of the E example (32), if the locative copy is present, which is far from frequent, the locative is pronominalized by the reflexive pronoun *na sebi* (on herself). But when the underlying nominative turns up in surface structure as a non-referential constituent (question words and non-referential pronouns) the pronominal copy of the locative is obligatory in S-C, while the pronominal part is obligatorily deleted in the E equivalent, leaving behind only the locative preposition.

(33) *Šta* je ona imala *na sebi*? (=What did she have on herself?) What did she have on?

(34) Kada se pojavila *na sebi* nije imala *ništa*. (=When she appeared she had nothing on herself).	When she appeared she had nothing on.

We hope to have given sufficient evidence that there are certain principles at work both in E and S-C based on the concepts alienability/inalienability, which determine the respective surface structure forms of stative locative sentences. In addition, we hope to have contributed to the elucidation of the so-far unexplained phenomenon of the acceptability *vs* unacceptability of indefinitely defined noun phrases in initial position of so-called existential sentences.

N O T E S

1. Allen 1964, Lyons 1967, Fillmore 1968, Christie 197o, Anderson 1971, Boadi 1971.

2. *Nominative* is used in Anderson (1971) for a semantic (case) element and should not be confused with the inflectionally marked subjective case in traditional IE grammars. The nominative in Anderson's case grammar is the most neutral case and the only obligatory one. Only one element, nominative, is introduced simply by a constituency rule, whereas the other cases involve the subcategorisation of the clause. NPs enter the structure of a clause only indirectly, i.e. via a particular case function. Anderson's grammar sets up four cases: *ergative*, *nominative*, *locative*, and *ablative*. These four cases can be introduced either as categories or as features on categories, so that cases may become amalgamated and are not treated as monocategorial elements like in Fillmore's grammar.

3. See: Daneš 1966, Firbas 1966, Kirkwood 1969, Sgall 1969 and the authors quoted therein.

4. "the subject in sentences containing "*have* (and its equivalents) as a main verb" has its source (diachronically and synchronically) in a locative phrase of some sort". (Anderson 1973a, 31)

5. This conclusion rests on the assumption that be and have (as "main" verbs) do not appear in the deep structure of sentences, but are introduced by transformational rules (Bach 1967, Lyons 1967). There is diachronic evidence for such a proposal. Durbin and Durbin (1968, note 7, 117) state that verbs corresponding to English be and have are not universal and they hypothesize that Proto-Indo-European had neither a verb for to be or to have. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that there are languages (e.g. Russian, Ancient Greek, Hungarian) in which the copula need not be present even in the surface structure. More recent studies have resulted in a convention which treats verbs as central (Anderson 1971, note 1, 31: "Verbs are central relationally: they govern the case functions contracted by nouns"). In order not to lose generality of description, one is bound to introduce have and be into the underlying structure. In Anderson's grammar (1971, 88) be is introduced as copula in stative sentences, namely copula is added as a feature to V. We shall return later to the verb have.

6. As a matter of fact, both:

    There is a TV in the car.

and

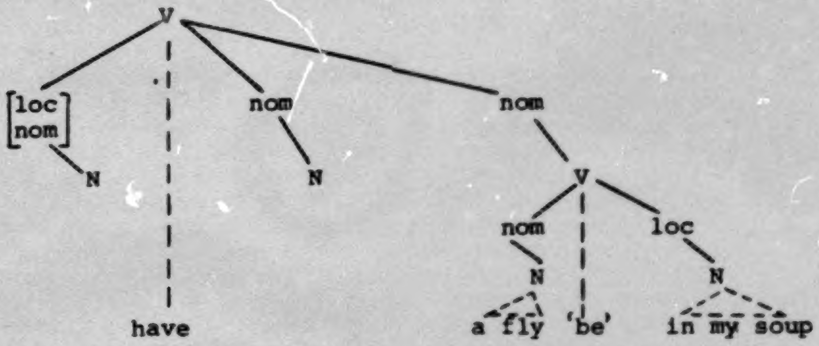
    The car has a TV in it.

have two reflections of the same underlying case, locative. There is a nominative phrase (TV) and two locative phrases (there and in the car) and (the car and in it) respectively. In both examples there is only one locative function in the underlying structure which has two reflections on the surface. In the second sentence the locative phrase has been subjectivized, and in the first, the locative there "has indeed little more semantic specification than that it is a locative" (Anderson 1971, 1o7-1o8).

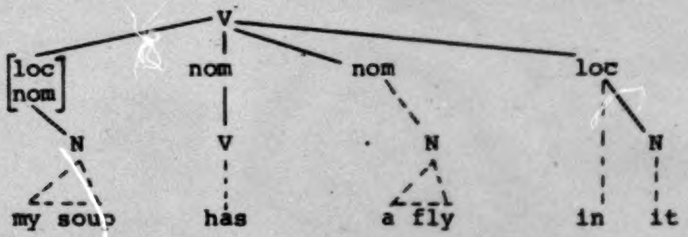
7. Anderson introduces both have and be into the underlying structure. He postulates three properties for the main verb have: it appears with empty Ns above locative predications, it reverses Ns in a single predication, and it absorbs the lower V, so that the underlying structure of the sentence

    My soup has a fly in it.

is represented in the following way (Anderson 1973a, 96-97):



When the operations of filling the two empty Ns in the upper predication are performed, the lower subject filling the upper object case (the original being deleted), and the lower locative filling the upper subject position (with the subsequent pronominalization of the original locative), followed by the absoption of the lower V, the following structure is derived:



(The principles of this rule are formulated in Anderson 1973b.)

8. We shall adduce some sentences with a locative copy obtained from books and unprepared speech so as to avoid the impression that such structures are strained; the examples quoted are taken from linguistic works, whose authors usually exemplify their points by examples made up for the occasion.

> The apple-tree has a lot of apples on it this year.
>
> Her voice had that faintly complaining note in it which is about the most annoying sound a human voice can contain. (Agatha Christie, The Sittaford Mystery, Glasgow 1975 (first publ. 1931), 60.)

9. Allan (1971, 6) gives the following examples:

(16) a. A strange man is outside.

b. There$_1$ is a strange man outside.

stating that "despite the synonymy of the two sentences (16a) is more dramatic and impressive than (16b); this results from the thematization of 'new' information."

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AN APPRCACH TO THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Introduction

1. The articles constitute one of the knottiest points of English grammar for speakers of Serbo-Croatian and they are never fully mastered. A speaker of Serbo-Croatian, by dint of much reading and by paying special attention to the articles, can arrive at a point where he can be fairly certain in repeating what he has memorized - either individual cases or parts of the article system - but he is never quite certain how far the system goes and, consequently, feels uncertain when he has to generate a use of the article for which his memory has stored no precedent.

2. One of the prominent practical aims of contrastive analysis is to help learners to go from the Source Language to the Target Language in the most effective and least painful way by establishing what is identical in the two languages and by concentrating on differences. The basic assumption is that the difficulties facing the learner stem from differences between the two languages and that the greater the difference between the two languages the greater will be the difficulties. The degree of difference is thus in direct ratio to the number of errors made in using a particular language item. From this it would seem that contrastive analysis would have much to

tell the speaker of SC when he struggles with the English article system, as this is an area of very numerous errors and, consequently, of great difficulties. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

3. In contrastive analysis we are faced mostly with the following situations:

3.1. a. A Source Language item *Si* has a corresponding Target Language item *Ti* with somewhat different distribution. *Si* represents positive interference; the difference in distribution between *Si* and *Ti* represents negative interference. Thus, both SC and E have possessives (adjectives and pronouns). This fact will "remind" the Serbo-Croatian learner of English to use possessive words also in English (positive interference), but he must also keep in mind the differences in their use (negative interference) and react with a possessive adjective in English also in cases where there is no positive interference from SC;

3.2. b. *Si* has $\underline{Ti}_1$, $\underline{Ti}_2$, ..., as its equivalents in the system. *Si* represents positive interference; the fact that *Si* can be rendered as $\underline{Ti}_1$, $\underline{Ti}_2$, ..., represents negative interference. The SC present is rendered, mostly, as present, preterit or present perfect in E. The fact that an SC tense requires a tense in E represents positive interference; the necessity to choose among three possibilities in E as against one in SC represents negative interference, and the learner will tend to generalize one of the E possibilities to the exclusion of the other two, at the first stage of learning. At later stages, he will start using also the other possibilities, although not necessarily correctly;

3.3. c. $\underline{Si}_1$, $\underline{Si}_2$, ..., have $\underline{Ti}$ as their sole equivalent. $\underline{Si}_1$, $\underline{Si}_2$, ..., could represent negative interference. An example for this situation would be the two aspectual forms in most SC verbs as against one non-aspectual form in E. The learner will tend to distinguish two aspectual forms also in E, and for this he will utilize the two types of verb phrases in E (simple and progressive), mostly by ascribing imperfective value to the progressive form and the perfective value to the simple form, for reasons that need not interest us here.[1] This means that the learner tends to utilize as translation equivalents elements of the Target Language which are not formally correspondent to the items of his mother tongue.

3.4. d. This is, fortunately, the least frequent situation: for no item in the Source Language there are one or more items in the Target Language. In such situations contrastive analysis is of little or no use as positive interference, for all practical purposes, is totally absent. The learner will begin, at the stage when he is expected to start generating Target Language sentences, by omitting the item(s) for which there is no positive interference from the Source Language. At the second stage, he acquires positive interference of a kind. In the case of the articles, a SC learner of E will learn that, contrary to the situation in his mother tongue, E nouns occur with articles; that is, he will take nouns as signals for articles but he will still lack a signal for the distribution of articles. The result will be that the use of articles will increase, but the increase will very likely be too great and their distribution will be quite frequently wrong. This explains why, after a period of intensive exercise on the use of articles, the number of wrongly used articles seems to increase rather than decrease. Before the exercises the articles were mostly omitted, so that those nouns which occur without phonetically realized articles were correctly used. At the second stage, practically all nouns have phonetically realized articles, many of which are used where no article is required and, in the situation where one of the articles is required, frequently the wrong article is selected; (it is mostly the definite article that is generalized). This is a situation similar to that in which, when asked what was better, a watch which was a second late every year or a watch that had stopped, the computer, allegedly, answered that the one that was out of order was better because it showed absolutely correct time twice a day while the first watch never showed correct time.

4. The learner sees nouns in SC as "nil + noun". The nil, as far as phonetic realization is concerned, corresponds to the E null article, and the learner, in some cases, by making a mistake comes up with a correct solution. At the second stage, the learner's newly acquired equivalence is "SC nil + N" = E article + N" with the null[2] article omitted as it has the same form as his native nil, which he has been taught is wrong. In other words, he has become article-conscious, which is obviously a step towards the Target Language. Paradoxically, this step in the right direction often results in an increased number of wrong articles.

5. Although situations are rare in which there is no item in the Source Language and one or more corresponding items in the Target Language, the frequency of the few items which may exist can be extremely high. This is the situation facing a native speaker of English groping his way through the maze of the SC aspect system. The author of the present article knows an American with an uncanny knowledge of SC who is likely to make mistakes only in the selection of the proper verb aspect. This fact is not very encouraging for a speaker of SC when he tackles the intricacies of the E article system.

6. There have been several attempts to find elements of positive interference in SC for the E articles, but so far as we can judge, they all have been what they were bound to be - failures. Those elements of positive interference authors believe they have discovered are, in most cases, no such elements at all or, at best, their positive value is marginal and they themselves are optional. In addition, their possible utilization imposes upon the learner so much mental effort that they are to all practical purposes useless.

6.1. To illustrate this, let us consider some of the more plausible cases of the alleged positive interference from SC.

7. One such case is believed to be the occurrence of a demonstrative with the second mention of the same referent, as in

(1) Nekoć je živio neki kralj. Taj je kralj imao jednog sina. (Literally: Once upon a time there lived some king. That king had one son.)
(1E) Once upon a time there lived a king. The king had a son.

This looks rather convincing, if we forget the fact that in most cases instead of *taj kralj* ("the king") we will have *on* ("he"). On the other hand, *taj* (alleged equivalent of "the") is far from obligatory. Admittedly, a sequence like:

(2) Nekoć je živio *neki kralj*. *Kralj* je imao jednog sina. (Literally: Once upon a time there lived *some king*. *King* had one son.)
(2E) the same as (1E)

would be rather awkward, but not for reasons of awkward grammar but rather for the jarring close repetition of the noun *kralj* ("king"). If the sentence is reshuffled, two repetitions of the noun *kralj* ("king") without the demonstrative *taj* (?"the") are quite acceptable:

(3) Nekoć je živio neki *kralj*. Osim dviju kćeri, *kralj* je imao i jednog sina. (Literally: Once upon a time there lived *some king*. In addition to two daughters, *king* had one son.)
(3E) Once upon a time there lived *a king*. In addition to two daughters, *the king* had a son.

7.1. If (1) is continued in such a way that *sin* ("son") is mentioned again (in the same way as *kralj* ("king") in (1)) it is the demonstrative *taj* (?"the") that becomes awkward:

(4) Nekoć je živio neki kralj. Taj je kralj imao *jednog sina*. ?*Taj sin* bio je vrlo hrabar. (Literally: Once upon a time there lived a king. The king had *one son*. *That son* was very brave.)
(4E) Once upon a time there lived a king. The king had *a son*. *The son* was very brave.

7.2. In this way *taj* as a signal for the definite article in E is of very negligible usefulness. In addition, *taj* is a frequent equivalent of *that* or *this*, which farther reduces its usefulness as a definite article signal. The learner has to decide whether *taj* occurs with a first mention or the second mention of the referent; if it is a second mention then there is a possibility (how much of a possibility?) that it signals the definite article in E. This is obviously too devious a procedure for the learner to profit by.

8. Another frequently mentioned case of possible positive SC interference as a signal of the definite article in E is the tendency (we do not know how consistent it is) in SC to start a sentence with what is known and to conclude it with a new piece of information. The conclusion drawn from this is that a noun occurring initially in SC will have as its E equivalent a corresponding noun preceded by the definite article, and a noun occurring finally will have a corresponding noun with the indefinite article in E (or, if it is a non-count noun, the zero article), not necessarily in the same position. Thus to

(5) *Čovjek* je došao. (Literally: *Man* has arrived.)

would correspond

(5E) *The man* has arrived.

whereas

(6) Došao je *čovjek*. (Literally: Arrived has *man*.)

would be an equivalent of

(6E) *A man* has arrived.

8.2. When told of this distinction, speakers of SC are rather astonished because they are not aware of it, and most of them would say that (6) is rather unusual. The more usual form would probably be

(7) Došao je onaj čovjek. (Literally: Arrived
has that man.)
(7E) That man has arrived.

where čovjek ("man") is signaled as identifiable from the foregoing text or discourse.

8.3. Even if this principle of ordering sentence elements actually functions, with some complications, its function is not to represent a noun as either definite or indefinite; rather, it is to represent anything as the known thing (argument) about which something so far unknown is said (predication). As arguments are mostly realized as nouns, the initial position of nouns is the typical position (that is why (6) sounds unusual), and the notion of definiteness, as signaled by the E definite article, only accidentally coextends with the notion of argument, as an indefinitely modified noun can also be the argument, as in "Some people never learn" or "A boy stood at a corner." In addition, a slight emphasis on any element of sentence structure plays havoc with this too subtle a system to be of any real practical use. In conclusion, we would like to emphasize the fact that the categories of definiteness and indefiniteness simply are no part of the semantics of the SC noun.

9. The fact that SC distinguishes a definite and an indefinite form of adjectives has very often been pointed out as a possible signal for the articles in E. It is believed that a SC noun modified by the definite form of an adjective will have in E an equivalent adjective and noun preceded by the definite article, while for the indefinite adjective form the opposite will be true. If we take even a perfunctory look at the actual situation in

SC, the usefulness of an adjectival form in SC as an article signal dwindles down to insignificance.

9.1. The definite and the indefinite forms of adjectives are in most inflexional forms distinguished only by the quality, rather than the quantity of accent. The accent on forms that are not distinguished by different segmental morphemes normally has the same quantity in both forms (for instance, the indefinite form *žūto* has a long stem vowel, as does the definite form *žūto*), but one form has a different melody from the melody in the other form (in the definite form *žûto* it is falling, whereas in the indefinite form *žúto* it is rising). In addition, the definite form often shows a lengthening of the vowel following the stressed syllable (*žûtō*). Most speakers in the cultural centers in the west of the country and elsewhere do not distinguish either the melody of the accent or the length of the post-stress vowel, so that for these speakers formal differences between the two forms of the adjective are reduced to very few inflexional endings that show different segmental morphemes for the two adjective forms.

9.2. Maretić himself (§461), and he is not at all reluctant to be prescriptive, says that there are very few invariable rules for the use of the two adjective forms. He lists a number of examples where, in the same environments, both forms occur.

9.3. The most discouraging fact in this discouraging situation is that the definite adjective forms can occur in situations where E will require an indefinite determiner, as in

(8) nekakav dragocjeni (definite adjective) prsten
(8E) a costly ring

9.4. What remains of this feature of SC which much has been expected from are Maretić's "few invariable rules", and their usefulness seems quite negligible. One of them is that where there is a close connexion (kind of total attachment) between the adjective and its noun (such as to form a semantic unit), the adjective will invariably appear in its definite form. This could offer a very minor help indeed with some types of English connotative proper names. The SC connotative name Stari svijet ("Old World") could be utilized as a reminder to the SC learner of English to produce the Old World in E (rather than Old World). This situation could be formalized as

⟶ (SC Adj-def + N) (E the + Adj + N) / connotative proper name

9.5. This instruction would be valid only in situations where there is a close translation equivalence and formal correspondence between the two languages. Following this instruction, the learner will come up with a number of correct articles, as in the Milky Way (Mliječni Put). With the Crystal Palace he just would not know whether the feminine adjective form kristalna should be interpreted as definite or indefinite; and this would be the most frequent situation even where a close correspondence could be established, which is not very frequently.

9.6. With non-proper names the definite form of the adjective is worse than useless. The E equivalent of slijepi miš ("blind (adj. def.) mouse") is either the bat for the genus or else a/the bat for individual animals;

vrtni karanfil ("garden (adj. def.) pink"), to take an example showing close correspondence, will be the garden pink in the generic sense, otherwise it is a/the garden pink. In these and similar cases the SC construction "Definite Adjective + Noun" has as its E equivalents:

a. the generic the:

Vrtni karanfil gaji se u vrtu.
The garden pink is grown in gardens.

b. the article the:

Vrtni karanfil koji gajim u vrtu predivan je.
The garden pink I'm growing in my garden is most beautiful.

c. the indefinite article:

U vrtu imamo vrtni karanfil.
There is a garden pink in the garden.

This variety of heterogenous "equivalents" shows that there is no equivalence relation between the SC definite adjective form and the E definite article either with obligatory or optional occurrences of the SC definite adjective forms.

1o. We will not mention other cases of elements of SC able to signal the necessity of using an article in E. At best, such signals are optional or strained, or else they are bordering on the fantastic. In any case, they are too complicated to be of any practical value.

11. Our own experience, and the futile attempts to find positive interference in SC for both the occurrence and distribution of articles in E, leads us to the conclusion that no contrastive attempt could possibly prove useful because there is no realistic basis for such an attempt. The only thing that remains for the SC learner of

E is to try to understand, memorize and make automatic the system of E articles. Now it only remains to tell him where to find this system described in a useful way. The answer is - there is no such description.

12. The grammars learners use are mostly of the for-foreign-students type, compiled, as often as not, by persons with practical skill in teaching but with no theoretical linguistic training and with very little understanding of the nature of difficulties the learner, with his native linguistic behavior, meets in studying E. Most of the authors seem to be firm, though unconscious, believers in the universal grammar as embodied in the grammar of the English language: The foreigner's grammar is, of course, the same as English grammar. Non-native authors of E grammars of this type usually have an article system in their language. Grammars of other types mostly do not devote enough space to the articles, or they show only a vague theoretical interest in the articles as one of the possible realizations of the Det formative.

13. The main weakness of such grammars, however, is that they are compiled mostly by authors whose mother tongues have articles and they are, consequently, not aware of the tremendous difficulties facing a learner whose mother tongue has no article system. A student whose mother tongue does have an article system possesses a powerful tool of positive interference. He finds himself in the enviable position of having numerous signals in his mother tongue, as well as a feeling for the use of articles, and what he has to do is to learn how his code is to be transcoded into the E code. A SC learner has to learn an

entirely new code together with a new slant on reality in order to be able to understand the necessity of having that code at all. It is obvious that a speaker of a language which possesses an article system will take much for granted when describing the functioning of E articles for the practical use of those who try to learn English, forgetting the basic fact that, as far as a speaker of a language which has no articles is concerned, there is no earthly reason for the articles to occur with nouns rather than with, say, verbs, as his language signals the necessity for the use of articles with nouns as much as it does with verbs by a total absence of any kind of signal anywhere. What most of the grammars used by SC students of E do is compare the situation in the author's mother tongue with that in E. Or, if the author is a native speaker, he usually devotes very little space to the articles and his selection of the article items he chooses to mention is very haphazard indeed and is done in such a way as to leave the impression that no one can make head or tail of the articles by the practice of making a positive statement about a "use" of the article and then following this brief statement by a long list of but's. The worst thing in the usual approach to the articles in grammars compiled by non-natives with an article system in their languages, is that the comparison, rather than description, is done unconsciously without the author's being aware of it and, consequently, much that is identical or similar is left out or dealt with summarily in half a sentence (this is no exaggeration), while the author is likely to concentrate on the differences, and, as a result, frequently devotes an undue amount of space and effort to rather marginally important occurrences of the articles.

14. What we will try to do, in a series of articles, is to give an outline of how we believe the E definite article should be approached from the linguistic habits of a SC speaker as the starting point. We shall, also, try to point out where frequently-used grammars are not so useful as they could be, incorporating in our articles everything that we believe existing grammars have useful to say.

14.1. Our intention, therefore, is purely practical in the sense that we do not have the slightest ambition to discover how the definite article actually works. What could seem like excursions into theory in the following texts is to be understood only as a help to the learner to understand, and to the teacher to explain and make readily acceptable, some points in the use of the definite article. On a general plane, the explanations may be very incomplete and intended for only one situation.

14.2. Our intention is not practical in the sense that what we say has to be used in exactly the order of presentation, with exactly that amount of importance attached to it which is in direct relation to the space devoted to individual items. There has been no attempt to devise exercises, or even to suggest where exercises would be useful. We leave that to those better qualified than we are.

15. Our approach to the definite article in English is based on considerations of the freedom of choice of the

articles. Roughly, the division of the article uses is this: (a) situations where only the definite article is likely to occur, and (b) situations where the speaker has to choose between the definite article and some other article.

15.1. Situation (a) comprises what we call "Memorized Uses of the Definite Article." These are situations where the signal for the use of the definite article is looked for in features outside the article system (easy to identify for a speaker of SC) which are invariably, or invariably enough, accompanied by the definite article. Such features are of all sorts, such as lexical sets (names of rivers), number (plural nouns), noun classes (proper nouns), modifiers (late, superlatives), and others. Occasionally, a not too deep-going rationale of individual situations is attempted, based on what we believe to be the underlying article system. This group also includes the "generic" use of the definite article, although here a choice is possible but it is not relevant. It means pretty much the same thing whether we say "The horse is a useful animal", "A horse is a useful animal", or "ø Horses are useful animals".

15.2. The second article of this series is entitled "Generated Uses of the Definite Article" and it deals with situations where there is a choice between the articles and this choice is relevant. In all cases it is the semantics of the definite article that is decisive for its occurrence. But to help the learner, such situations are divided into two groups. One group contains those instances of the definite article for whose appearance there is some rather reliable signal in the accompanying context (as a repeated referent: "A dog bit me. I hit *the dog*." or "A dog bit me. I hit *the wretched creature*." or "...*a house*...*the roof* was red" and similar). The other group contains those occurrences of the definite article for which there is no signal in the accompanying text (like "*the sun* does not shine every day"), although occasionally some accompanying structural feature may serve as a not too reliable indication that the definite article should be used (such as a relative clause: "the man who arrived yesterday"). This is followed by the most frequent cases of the deletion of the definite article. Here we are not concerned with cases like "from door to door", but rather with cases of identity deletion like "the knife and (the) fork". Finally, we try to show that cases like "ø school" against "a/the school", which are great favourites with most grammars, are nothing exceptional and that they behave in exactly the same way as all other nouns capable of changing from count class to the non-count class.

NOTES

1. See L. Spalatin, "The Present Tense in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović, ed., *The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Reports 3*, Zagreb, 197o, p. 139 ff.
2. A *null* morpheme is a morpheme without a phonetic realization; *nil* indicates the absence of a morpheme.

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